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# An Analysis of Maryland's Smart Growth in Two Historic Areas

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A Thesis in Historic Preservation Presented to the Faculties of the University of Pennsylvania in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Science in Historic Preservation 2007.  
Advisor: Randall F. Mason

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## **Comments**

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AN ANALYSIS OF MARYLAND'S SMART GROWTH IN TWO HISTORIC AREAS

Mary Lina Jacobs Grilli

A THESIS

In

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Presented to the Faculties of the University of Pennsylvania in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements of the Degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE IN HISTORIC PRESERVATION

2007

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## **DEDICATION**

This thesis is dedicated to my father, Enzo Grilli, a lifelong scholar and teacher.

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## INTRODUCTION

Over the past thirty years, growth management has gained widespread support at the state and local levels, prompting land use planning agencies to adopt urban growth boundaries, Smart Growth, adequate public facilities ordinances, and other measures in order to curb trends of sprawl and center city disinvestment. Maryland's 1997 *Smart Growth and Neighborhood Conservation Initiative* established a series of financial incentives at the state level in order to divert development away from urban fringes and encourage infill and rehabilitation in existing built areas. However, the utilization of state-level policies that rely entirely on market forces raises important questions for historic areas that are targeted for renewed investment. Can historic residential or mixed-use urban areas realistically be integrated into Smart Growth's metropolitan vision or is preservation merely to be used for large-scale, high-profile projects, such as theaters and factories? Can Smart Growth's policies be used as a strategy to attract investors willing to rehabilitate and reuse historic structures without gentrifying? To what extent can Smart Growth incentives respect local desires; does Smart Growth create incentives that undermine and overpower local self-determination?

A few criteria guided the selection of case studies for analysis. Urban areas within the two largest metropolitan regions in the state, the Baltimore area and the Washington, D.C. area (arguably, all one large Baltimore-Washington metropolitan area) were thought to provide the most likely confluence of historic resources and Smart Growth

connections. Within the Washington and Baltimore regions, urban areas that contained a large number of vernacular residential and/or commercial structures, that struggled to attract investment, and that had been noted for garnering state attention over the past ten years were considered. The case studies that were selected, Hyattsville in Prince George's County and the Reservoir Hill neighborhood in Baltimore City, offered abundant material for the consideration of the role of the state policies in ongoing revitalization efforts.<sup>1</sup> Because of the difficulty in proving a direct and quantifiable correlation between historic preservation activities and Smart Growth, the study focuses on qualitative data, drawing heavily from conversations with local leaders, residents, and businesspeople.

Chapter One of this thesis discusses the related trends of urban sprawl and central city disinvestment and briefly introduces the most common growth management tools that have been utilized to direct development. Chapter Two presents Maryland's land use

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<sup>1</sup> Originally, this thesis was to include a study of three urban areas. The first choice, Silver Spring in Montgomery County, presents a fascinating case of the integration of Smart Growth and historic preservation, but was abandoned after initial research due to its vastness (its general area is larger than any city in the state except for Baltimore) and the difficulty of obtaining data on the unincorporated area whose boundaries are not officially defined. A second Montgomery County case study, the Town of Kensington, an inner-ring suburb of Washington, D.C., appeared to have promising connections between Smart Growth and historic preservation; conversations with historic preservation staff in Maryland suggested that Kensington, whose historic character draws from its creation as a "garden community," had been experiencing substantial pressures (possibly Smart-Growth-related) to increase in density by permitting infill development in large side lots. However, after a visit to the Maryland National Capital Planning and Parks Commission, the land use planning agency for Montgomery County, it became clear that the conflict was not acute enough to become an interesting and full-bodied chapter. I would like to thank Councilman Al Carr and Claire Kelly at the Montgomery County Department of Parks and Planning for their assistance in my truncated research.

controls, providing a history and analysis of the Smart Growth legislation and explaining the historic preservation tools that are offered in Maryland at the state level. Chapter Three discusses the connection between the principles of Smart Growth and historic preservation, presenting theoretical ways in which the two bolster and undermine one another. Chapter Four presents the case study of Hyattsville in Prince George's County, and Chapter Five presents the case study of the Reservoir Hill neighborhood in Baltimore City. Finally, the conclusion offers recommendations for and critiques of Smart Growth in light of the case studies.

## **CHAPTER ONE: URBAN SPRAWL, CENTRAL CITY DISINVESTMENT AND RESPONSES**

The rise of sprawl and the fall of the self-sustaining city during the last half of the twentieth century both reflected and exacerbated shifts in the American lifestyle: segregation of metropolitan areas by race and class, dependence on the automobile, inner-city poverty and crime worsened by deteriorating central city schools, consumer preferences for larger houses on larger lots that were farther and farther away from traditional city cores. Government subsidies, such as federal mortgage interest deductions and Federal Housing Act loan guarantees contributed to an under-pricing of suburban homes; the federal interstate highway system and the mass production of the automobile made commuting (in privately-owned vehicles) less costly to the individual commuter; and federal subsidies for the construction of new infrastructure, such as sewers, made outfitting new developments with municipal services as affordable and convenient as upgrading existing systems.<sup>2</sup> All of these factors have resulted in a land market in which the price of new development in rural and exurban areas does not reflect its true costs.<sup>3</sup>

The affordability of detached, single-family homes on large lots in the suburbs perpetuated the widespread flight of the upper and middle classes from downtowns to

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<sup>2</sup> Robert C. Ellickson and Vicki L. Been, *Land Use Controls: Cases and Materials*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (New York: Aspen Publishers, 2005), 795.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

suburban communities across America and, in turn, has resulted in consumer preferences for low-density, suburban neighborhood living.<sup>4</sup> At the local level, exclusionary zoning ensured that suburban neighborhoods remained white and wealthy, relegating inner cities to the poor and minorities. Although racial zoning was banned by the United States Supreme Court in the 1970s,<sup>5</sup> large-lot zoning ordinances were very effective at keeping racial minorities out of the suburbs.<sup>6</sup> The drainage of people and resources from central cities for the most part worsened problems of crime and falling property values in America's cities: many of America's cities fell into a self-perpetuating cycle of disinvestment, abandonment, and deterioration.<sup>7</sup> As Roberta Mann put it:

[l]ike the classic conundrum of the chicken and the egg, it is hard to say whether rising urban crime rates caused urban flight or whether urban flight and the concomitant lowering of property values and increases in vacant housing caused rising urban crime. Whatever the cause of urban flight, encouraging resettlement of the city is key to its survival.<sup>8</sup>

The abandoning of America's cities and the consumption of open land with low density development are just two of the phenomena that are referred to when urban planners, environmentalists, politicians, and citizen activists talk about urban sprawl. Sprawl is defined as low density, single use development, development which, detractors believe,

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> *Village of Arlington Heights v. Metropolitan Housing Development Corporation*, 429 U.S. 252 (1977).

<sup>6</sup> A study conducted by Pendall, in which he surveyed 1,540 local jurisdictions, found that low-density only zoning has historic and current connections with racial exclusion. Rolf Pendall, "Local Land Use Regulation and the Chain of Exclusion," *American Planning Association Journal* 66, no. 2 (2000): 125.

<sup>7</sup> Robert Fogelson, *Downtown: Its Rise and Fall, 1880-1950* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001); Alison Isenberg, *Downtown America, A History of the Place and the People Who Made It* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

<sup>8</sup> Mann, Roberta F., "Tax Incentives for Historic Preservation: An Antidote to Sprawl?" *Widener Symposium Law Journal* 8 (2002): 209.

inefficiently uses land.<sup>9</sup> Baum describes sprawl as a product of urban pushes and suburban pulls, explaining that the suburbs attract families with good housing, open space, pleasant living conditions, and proximity to work, and the cities repel families with bad schools, threats to safety, noxious neighborhood conditions, contact with other races, and poor public services.<sup>10</sup>

There are many negative impacts of sprawling development, such as a decreasing supply of open space, farmland, and wildlife habitats,<sup>11</sup> automobile dependency, sharpening economic and racial segregation, failing inner-city schools, and crime. Uncontrolled growth requires high expenditures from local governments and developers for water and sewer infrastructure, and for roads and public services.<sup>12</sup> There are even studies that indicate that sprawled development is deleterious to the health of both those living in pockets of concentrated poverty in cities<sup>13</sup> and those living in the suburbs<sup>14</sup> and is

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 211; see also Kenneth Jackson, *The Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); Dreier, Peter, John Mollenkopf, and Todd Swantrom. *Place Matters: Metropolitcs for the Twenty-first Century*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2001.

<sup>10</sup> Howell S. Baum, "Smart Growth and School Reform," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 70, no. 1 (2004): 14; Galster, George et al., "Wrestling Sprawl to the Ground: Defining and Measuring an Elusive Concept," (Washington, D.C.: Fannie Mae Foundation, 2001).

<sup>11</sup> United States Environmental Protection Agency, *Our Built and Natural Environments, A Technical Review of Interactions between Land Use, Transportation, and Environmental Quality* (Washington: EPA, 2001).

<sup>12</sup> Robert. R. Burchell et al., *The Costs of Sprawl – 2000*, Transit Cooperative Research Program Report 74, (Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press, 2002): 9-11.

<sup>13</sup> Dreier, Mollenkopf, and Swantstrom, 77.

<sup>14</sup> Barbara A. McCann and Reid Ewing, *Measuring the Health Effects of Sprawl* (Washington, DC: Smart Growth America and the Surface Transportation Policy Project, 2003). This results of this study suggested that people in more sprawling counties are likely to have a higher body mass index, and found a direct relationship between sprawl and chronic disease such as hypertension.



responsible for a breakdown of important social connections among Americans.<sup>15</sup>

Although the benefits of growing outward are reaped by the upper and middle classes who are able to enjoy larger houses and better schools, the costs are borne to a large degree by central city residents and taxpayers.<sup>16</sup> The fiscal and social governmental policies that lured those who had the means to move out of the cities and into the suburbs left the inner cities to those without the luxury of choice— the poor, the uneducated, mostly African Americans, resulting in a situation that has been termed “American apartheid.”<sup>17</sup> Given the connection of sprawl and central city decline,<sup>18</sup> it seems clear that the multifaceted problem<sup>19</sup> must be addressed both from within (to garner confidence

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<sup>15</sup> Lance Freeman, *The Effect of Sprawl on Neighborhood Social Ties: An Exploratory Analysis*, Journal of American Planning Association 67, no. 1 (2001): 69-77.

<sup>16</sup> Dreier et al., 72.

<sup>17</sup> Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton, *American Apartheid* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993). Baum notes that in 1980, among the 30 metropolitan regions with the largest black populations, blacks constituted only five percent of suburban residents in the North and only 16 percent in the South. Baum, 18.

<sup>18</sup> Wendell Cox argues that just because central cities have lost population while suburbs have gained population, it does not necessarily follow that city losses occurred because of suburban growth. Wendell Cox, “Debunking Friday the 13<sup>th</sup>: 13 Myths of Urban Sprawl,” 12 June 2003, *News Releases* (Chicago: The Heartland Institute, 2003), available at <http://www.heartland.org/Article.cfm?artId=12346>. An article from Cox’s website clarifies: he claims that only 15% of suburban growth has come from the cities, and that most suburban growth is simply the result of population gain and of people moving from rural to suburban areas. Demographia, “Smart Growth: Retarding the Quality of Life,” n.d., <<http://www.demographia.com/dib-smg.htm>> (20 March 2007).

<sup>19</sup> This thesis assumes that the above-discussed trends are, indeed, problems, although some would disagree. It should be noted that sprawl does not create only costs without benefits. Burchell lists some potential benefits of sprawl: larger average lot sizes, fulfilling consumer preferences for low-density living, the provision of consumer households with more combinations of tax levels and services than would occur in non-sprawl development, lower land and housing costs in farther-out areas, stronger citizen participation and influence in smaller local governments than could be achieved in large political jurisdictions. Burchell et al., *The Costs of Sprawl*, 17. Glaeser and Kahn argue that sprawl is a result of the market finding an efficient balance, and that sprawl should be relied on as a means of providing the benefit of low-density living to low income people. Edward Glaeser and Matthew Kahn, “Sprawl and Urban Growth,” available at <http://www.economics.harvard.edu/hier/2003papers/HIER2004.pdf>, discussed in Todd Litman, *Evaluating Criticisms of Smart Growth* (Victoria, B.C.: Victoria Policy Institute, 2005). However,

in and attract investment to older cities) and from without (to slow down the outward expansion of metropolitan areas).

Although governmental subsidies and regulatory policies were a significant element in the construction of sprawled developments, changes from the public sector can only go so far: market forces and consumer preferences are also powerful elements that continue to shape the American metropolitan landscape. Litman acknowledges these elements, but argues that many people will chose other housing and transport options if given suitable options and incentives, and that current markets are distorted in ways that increase sprawl and auto-dependency. Therefore, given current discrepancies in the quality of infrastructure and services of cities as compared with suburbs in most American metropolitan areas, consumer preference remains on sprawl's side;<sup>20</sup> however, giving developers incentives to create newer and more attractive options in cities could help to attract a critical mass of people and resources to cities and thereby begin the upward spiral of people, jobs, money, and suburban-quality infrastructure and services back to the cities.

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according to Burchell, "[o]verall, from what can be measured, sprawl has more costs than benefits." Burchell et al., *The Costs of Sprawl*, 17.

<sup>20</sup> Of course, there are many people who prefer to live in cities rather than on the urban fringe; however, consumer preference, as reflected in generalized market trends indicate that many Americans still prefer the suburbs.

## **Growth Management and Smart Growth**

Sprawl and central city disinvestment, deeply engrained in American development patterns by the end of the twentieth century, have become paths of least resistance: trends that seemed to continue on their own without further deliberate government intervention. However, starting in the early 1960s, many city and county governments have taken on the reduction of sprawl as part of their agenda.

An early and well-known case of local growth management regulation occurred in the town of Ramapo, New York. In 1969, the city adopted an ordinance which permitted development using a points-based system and linked that system to an 18-year capital improvements plan; new development was allowed only when adequate public facilities and services were available. The ordinance, considered by many as the precursor to Smart Growth, was challenged in the case of *Golden v. Ramapo Planning Board*. The ordinance was also criticized for its exclusionary effects in keeping lower-income families out of Ramapo and deflecting development to other urban areas within the region.<sup>21</sup> The Ramapo program was upheld as within the power of the Planning Board, and assured local governments that efforts to control growth within their jurisdictions would not be undermined by the courts.

Despite the fact that government efforts at land use regulation have been curbed somewhat in recent years as the takings movement as experienced an upsurge in judicial

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<sup>21</sup> Jerry Anthony, "Do State Growth Management Regulations Reduce Sprawl?," *Urban Affairs Review* 39 (2004): 377-8.

attention,<sup>22</sup> today many different growth management tools are applied at both the state and local levels. The oldest and most popular of these, zoning, regulates type and intensity of use. Not explicitly or exclusively a growth control mechanism, zoning can have significant effects on the location and rate of urban expansion. Another tool, used in the state of Oregon, the urban growth boundary, delineates a point beyond which development (ideally) is not allowed. Some growth management tools link new development to urban infrastructure: the urban service boundaries (employed in Lexington, Kentucky) identifies where urban services will be provided, and, adequate public facilities ordinances restrict or prohibit growth in areas inadequately served by roads, public water, public sewer, schools or other forms of urban infrastructure. Another less common form of growth control, the greenbelt (as used in Boulder, Colorado), surrounds urban areas with land dedicated to farming, natural resource protection, or public open space.<sup>23</sup>

Traditionally, local governments (at the municipality- or county-level) have wielded near total control over land use and growth management decisions, a structure that has resulted in uncoordinated development in many areas.<sup>24</sup> Some cross-jurisdictional organizations have stepped in to fill this need for regional regulation, such as Metropolitan Atlanta

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<sup>22</sup> Robert H. Freilich, *From Sprawl to Smart Growth*, (Chicago: Section of State and Local Government Law, American Bar Association, 1999), 4.

<sup>23</sup> Gerrit Knapp, Jungyul Sohn, John W. Frece, and Elizabeth Holler, *Smart Growth, Housing Markets, and Development Trends in the Baltimore-Washington Corridor*, (College Park: National Center for Smart Growth Research and Education, 2003), 2.

<sup>24</sup> Freilich, 3.

Rapid Transit Authority, the Delaware Valley Regional Planning Commission, and the Delta Regional Authority. Although local governments may often be the best suited to decide certain municipality-specific questions regarding land uses within their jurisdictions, in the case of large metropolitan areas that spread across multiple local jurisdictions, a regional or state policy can help mitigate against parochialism, NIMBY-ism and exclusionary practices.

In at least thirteen states, including Oregon, Colorado, New Jersey, Washington, Florida, and Maryland, state-level growth management programs have been adopted.<sup>25</sup> These plans take on varied forms, but out of the thirteen policies on the books, four of them are termed “Smart Growth” (Colorado, New Jersey, Rhode Island, Maryland). As expected for a term that has been adopted by various constituencies with slightly different meanings, Smart Growth is an “evolving concept,”<sup>26</sup> which changes not only over time, but also depending on whom you ask. Different jurisdictions adopt their own version of Smart Growth, a phenomenon that makes sense, given the built-in support that calling a policy (no matter what it entails) “Smart Growth” would garner. After all, who wants to advocate for “dumb growth”?<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Anthony, 376.

<sup>26</sup> Douglas R. Porter, *Making Smart Growth Work* (Washington, D.C.: Urban Land Institute, 2002).

<sup>27</sup> John W. Frece, “Twenty Lessons from Maryland’s Smart Growth Initiative,” *Vermont Journal of Environmental Law* 6 (2005): 106-132.

Although “[t]here is some consensus on the breadth and scope of smart growth, . . . there is less agreement on the basic principles.”<sup>28</sup> Porter suggests that “[n]ot surprisingly, which principals of community development make it onto an organization’s list of smart-growth principles depends somewhat on the particular interests of the organization.”<sup>29</sup> He would delineate six forms of Smart Growth: compact, multiuse development; open-space conservation; expanded mobility; enhanced livability; efficient management and expansion of infrastructure; and infill, redevelopment, and adaptive use in built-up areas. Burchell, Listokin, and Galley name five major components of Smart Growth: control of outward growth movement, inner-area revitalization, design innovation, land preservation, and transportation reorientation. They see Smart Growth, generally, as a refocusing of regional growth toward central cities and inner suburbs by working toward their revitalization, and away from rural and undeveloped areas.<sup>30</sup> Others define Smart Growth less clearly, merely explaining that it is “about ensuring that neighborhoods, towns, and regions accommodate growth in ways that are economically sound, environmentally responsible, and supportive of community livability – growth that enhances the quality of life,” utilizing a broad range of solutions to accomplish those

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<sup>28</sup> Jerry Weitz and Leora Susan Waldner, *Smart Growth Audits*, American Planning Advisory Service, Report No. 512 (Chicago: American Planning Association, 2002): 2.

<sup>29</sup> Porter, *Making Smart Growth Work*, 1.

<sup>30</sup> Robert W. Burchell, David Listokin, and Catherine C. Galley, “Smart Growth: More Than a Ghost of Urban Policy Past, Less Than a Bold New Horizon,” *Housing Policy Debate* 11 (2000): 821-879.

goals.<sup>31</sup> Litman posits Smart Growth as sprawl's antithesis, distinguishing them by their divergent methods of connecting people with activities: "Smart Growth emphasizes *accessibility*, that is, people's ability to reach desired goods, services and activities, while sprawl emphasizes *mobility* and *automobility* (movement by automobile)."<sup>32</sup> Ye, Mandpe, and Meyer, by reviewing large national organizations and Smart Growth policy documents in an attempt to synthesize and clarify Smart Growth as a general term, were able to parse out six generally applicable components of Smart Growth: planning, transportation choice, economic development, housing, community development, and natural resource preservation.<sup>33</sup>

It is clear that if precision is desired, one must be more specific when referring to a land use program as merely "Smart Growth." Nonetheless, there are certain general concepts that may safely be attributed to Smart Growth programs: a commitment to growth (rather than a desire to slow or stop growth), efforts to conserve open space, measures to improve transportation systems, and advocacy of higher density land uses, often focusing on already-developed areas. In a general sense, Smart Growth attempts to address many different interrelated problems with a bundle of interrelated policy "solutions."<sup>34</sup>

Distinguishing among the purpose of open space conservation, transit-oriented

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<sup>31</sup> David J. O'Neill, *The Smart Growth Tool Kit: Community Profiles and Case Studies to Advance Smart Growth Practices* (Washington, D.C.: Urban Land Institute, 2000): 2.

<sup>32</sup> Litman, 5.

<sup>33</sup> Lin Ye, Sumedha Mandpe, and Peter B. Meyer, "What Is "Smart Growth"—Really?" *Journal of Planning Literature* 19, no. 3 (2005): 301-315.

<sup>34</sup> Litman refers to smart growth strategies as having a "synergetic" impact, meaning that their total impact is greater than the sum of the individual impacts. Litman, 5.

development, and density incentives is just as difficult as parsing out distinctions among the causes and effects of sprawl, auto-dependence, and struggling older areas. Different jurisdictions display similar symptoms in varying degrees and proportions; so too do the solutions utilize similar essential elements in different doses, all under the convincing name of “Smart Growth.”



## CHAPTER TWO: MARYLAND'S LAND USE POLICIES

The Smart Growth initiative in Maryland is unique in that it was the first state growth management program to link state funding and land use policy,<sup>35</sup> specifically through the use of incentives rather than regulations.<sup>36</sup> While states such as Oregon and Florida vest final approval authority of comprehensive plans with the state, and Vermont allows its regional boards to substantially alter development plans with regional impacts, Maryland's growth management policy has vested no additional authority in the state and relies exclusively on developers' needs for state funding to have an impact.<sup>37</sup>

Maryland's involvement in growth management was gradual – the state's first foray into land use regulation was related to land preservation and Chesapeake Bay protection, as opposed to containing sprawl.<sup>38</sup> In the three decades before 1997, a series of laws were passed as a reaction to growing concern about the deteriorating condition of the Chesapeake Bay, North America's largest and most productive estuary.<sup>39</sup> The 1987 Chesapeake Bay Agreement, signed by Maryland, Virginia, Pennsylvania, the District of Columbia, and the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, called for the formulation of a commission, called the 2020 Commission, in order to produce a report on the measures

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<sup>35</sup> Douglas Porter, "The States: Growing Smarter?" in *ULI on the Future Smart Growth: Economy, Community, Environment* (Washington, D.C.: Urban Land Institute, 1998): 28-35.

<sup>36</sup> Frece, 109.

<sup>37</sup> Cohen, "APFOs in Maryland," 9.

<sup>38</sup> James R. Cohen, "Maryland's 'Smart Growth': Using incentives to combat sprawl," In *Urban sprawl: Causes, consequences and policy response*, ed. Gregory D. Squires (Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press, 2002): 293- 324.

<sup>39</sup> Cohen, "Maryland's Smart Growth," 3.

necessary to protect the Bay without curbing the state's projected population growth. In a 1988 report, the Commission stated that "more than any other single development factor, we are more concerned about low density sprawl," and condemned "the lack of growth management and planning, particularly on a state and regional level."<sup>40</sup> The panel then presented six visions to serve as guideposts for policymakers:

- 1) development is concentrated in suitable areas;
- 2) sensitive areas are protected;
- 3) in rural areas, growth is directed to existing population centers and resource areas are protected;
- 4) stewardship of the Chesapeake Bay and the land is a universal ethic;
- 5) conservation of resources, including a reduction in resource consumption, is practiced; and
- 6) funding mechanisms are addressed to achieve these visions.

Just a few months after the 2020 Commission published its report, then-Governor Donald Schaefer created a commission to review the 2020 Commission's report and identify growth issues that should be addressed at the state level by the year 2020. The Governor's Commission on Growth in the Chesapeake Bay Region, also known as the Barnes Commission in honor of chairman, former Maryland Congressman Michael Barnes, began to develop a proposal.<sup>41</sup> In 1990, the Barnes Commission unveiled its solution for Maryland's growth crisis: *The Maryland Growth and Chesapeake Bay Protection Act of 1991*. The law proposed a dramatic recapture of land use control by the state from the counties, giving the state approval authority over all local plans. The law required local governments to classify their land as one of four types: developed areas,

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<sup>40</sup> The 2020 Commission, *Population Growth and Development in the Chesapeake Bay Watershed to the Year 2020*, (Annapolis: Chesapeake Bay Program, 1988, quoted in Cohen, "Maryland's Smart Growth," 4.

<sup>41</sup> Cohen, "Maryland's Smart Growth," 5.

growth areas, sensitive areas, or rural and resource areas, and specified permitted densities and performance standards for different rural and resource areas.<sup>42</sup> The strong opposition to the bill from the banking industry, developers, farmers, foresters, and local officials outweighed the lonely support offered by environmental organizations, and the bill never made it out of committee.<sup>43</sup>

The bill did, however, get the ball rolling, motivating the Maryland legislature to take action in the area of growth management. Soon after the defeat of the Barnes Commission's bill, the *Maryland Economic Growth, Resource Protection and Planning Act of 1992* ("1992 Act"), crafted by opponents of the Barnes Commission bill, found enough support to pass. The 1992 Act reserved most of the discretion in growth management and sensitive area protection to local governments. The 1992 Act also included the six visions of the 2020 Commission, and included a new vision of encouraging economic growth and streamlining regulatory mechanisms. Local governments were required to incorporate those visions into their comprehensive plans.<sup>44</sup> Also created by the 1992 Act was a 17-member Economic Growth, Resource Protection and Planning Commission ("Growth Commission") to advise the Governor on growth-related issues.<sup>45</sup> A 1996 report by the Growth Commission outlined some of the strengths and limitations of the 1992 Act. The Growth Commission found a major flaw

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

to be a lack of clarity in the law (especially with regard to the definition of some terms used in the visions, such as “concentrated,” “suitable areas,” “rural resources,” and “protection”). As a result of the criticisms of the 1992 Act, then-Governor Parris Glendening initiated a “We listened, you recommended” campaign intended to solicit ideas from interested citizen and stakeholder groups on how to better manage growth.<sup>46</sup> After the submission of over 100 legislative suggestions, the state government unveiled the *Smart Growth and Neighborhood Conservation Initiative* in 1997.

The stated goals of the legislation are: to enhance the state’s existing communities and other locally-designated growth areas; to identify and protect the state’s most valuable farmland and other natural resources; and to save taxpayers from the cost of building new infrastructure to support poorly planned development.<sup>47</sup> The legislation enumerates ten principles to help achieve the goals:

- 1) Mix Land Uses;
- 2) Take advantage of compact building design;
- 3) Create housing opportunities and choices;
- 4) Create walkable communities;
- 5) Foster distinctive, attractive communities with a strong sense of place;
- 6) Preserve open space, farmland, natural beauty, and critical environmental areas;
- 7) Strengthen and direct development toward existing communities;
- 8) Provide a variety of transportation choices;
- 9) Make development decisions predictable, fair, and cost-effective; and

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>47</sup> National Center for Smart Growth Research and Education, “Smart Growth in Maryland,” *The National Center for Smart Growth Research and Education*. 2003, <<http://www.smartgrowth.umd.edu/smartgrowthinmaryland.htm>> (20 January 2007); Arthur C. Nelson, “How Do We Know Smart Growth When We See It,” in *Smart Growth: Form and Consequences*, eds. Terry S. Szold and Armando Carbonell, 83-101. (Cambridge: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 2002).

10) Encourage community and stakeholder collaboration in development decisions.<sup>48</sup>

The original Smart Growth package included five separate measures: the Priority Funding Areas Act, the Rural Legacy Act, the Brownfield Voluntary Cleanup and Redevelopment Act, Live Near Your Work, and the Job Creation Tax Credit.<sup>49</sup> The Priority Funding Areas Act (also known as the “Smart Growth Areas Act”) focuses the State’s monetary investment in infrastructure to designated Priority Funding Areas (“PFAs”) (Ill. 1). The PFA Act designated certain areas as PFAs, including: municipalities, areas inside the Baltimore and Washington Beltways, neighborhoods designated for revitalization by the Department of Housing and Community Development, Enterprise and Empowerment Zones, and certified Heritage Areas within county-designated growth areas.<sup>50</sup> Areas that are eligible for county designation include areas with industrial zoning; areas with employment as the principal use which are served by, or planned for, a sewer system; existing communities within county-designated growth areas which are served by a sewer or water system and which have an average density of two or more units per acre; rural villages designated in the Comprehensive Plan as of July 1, 1998; and other areas within county-designated growth areas that reflect a long-term policy for promoting an orderly expansion of growth and an efficient use of land and public services, have existing or planned water and sewer systems, and

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<sup>48</sup> Maryland Department of Planning, *Maryland Department of Planning*.

<sup>49</sup> Gerrit Knaap and Dru Schmidt-Perkins, “Smart Growth in Maryland: Facing a New Reality,” *Land Lines* 18, no. 3 (July 2006).

<sup>50</sup> Maryland Department of Planning, *Maryland Department of Planning*.

have a permitted density of 3.5 or more units per acre for new residential development.<sup>51</sup>

The PFA Act restricts the utilization of almost every growth-related financial or technical assistance that the state has to offer exclusively to PFAs. Such assistance includes housing assistance programs, job creation tax credits, brown-field cleanup assistance, historic preservation tax credits, business expansion loans, park improvement funds, highway improvement funds, and the location and placement of state offices.<sup>52</sup> The Act, unlike other types of growth management tools, constrains the state from subsidizing low-density development, rather than constraining developers or local governments.

Smart Growth does allow for state-subsidized development outside of PFAs in certain situations, namely when approved by the State Board of Public Works, a three-person board made up of the Governor, the State Comptroller and State Treasurer. Another situation in which state funding may be provided for projects outside of PFAs, and without the Board of Public Works' approval, is for, "a growth-related project related to a commercial or industrial activity which, due to its operational or physical characteristics, shall be located away from other development, including . . . an industry that is proximate to . . . a railroad facility, a transit facility, or a major highway interchange."<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Frece, 109.

<sup>53</sup> Cohen, "Maryland's Smart Growth," 10.

The Rural Legacy Act enables local governments and private land trusts to purchase easements and development rights in “Rural Legacy Areas.”<sup>54</sup> The state provides funds for land preservation, involving local governments and land trusts to identify Rural Legacy Areas and compete for the Rural Legacy funds. The recipient of the funds then purchases conservation easements for large contiguous tracts of agricultural, forest, and natural areas subject to development pressure, and fee interests in open space where public access and use is needed.<sup>55</sup> The Brownfields Voluntary Cleanup Act offers loans and grants for brownfield site cleanup, encourages owners of brownfields to improve their property, offering a 50 percent tax break on increased property tax assessments resulting from property improvements and relieving current owners from retroactive liability in order to encourage reuse of already-contaminated properties. The Job Creation Tax Credit Program (which was updated from 1996, when it had originally been put into effect) offers qualified businesses an incentive to operate in Maryland by providing a tax credit for each new, full-time job created. The Live Near Your Work Program targets certain neighborhoods and offers assistance to employees through state grants that match contributions by businesses applied toward the purchase of homes near the workplace.<sup>56</sup>

There are also a number of other state initiatives that are integral to the Smart Growth program, although not included as part of the five primary pieces of legislation. Notably,

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<sup>54</sup> Cohen, “Maryland’s Smart Growth,” 2.

<sup>55</sup> Knaap et al., *Baltimore-Washington Corridor*, 6

<sup>56</sup> Cohen, “Maryland’s Smart Growth,” 18.

the school funding policy stipulates “that the emphasis of funding for public school construction projects shall be to target the rehabilitation of existing schools to ensure that facilities in established neighborhoods are of equal quality to new schools”.<sup>57</sup> In addition, every county and Baltimore City are required by state law to prepare a ten-year water and sewer plan which must be consistent with comprehensive plans and approved by the Maryland Department of the Environment. The plans must include data about existing systems’ levels of usage and use of capacity projections, and restricts the extension of water and sewer services until they are consistent with the plan.<sup>58</sup>

Finally, local governments are enabled to establish Adequate Public Facilities Ordinances (APFOs) by Maryland law (Article 66B). APFOs can be used by local governments to prohibit or delay development by basing development approvals on defined public facilities standards. In this way, they are intended to prevent development from exceeding the capacity of existing public infrastructure such as schools, roads, or sewer or water service.<sup>59</sup> According to the Maryland Department of Planning website, the State has over 80 programs that further Smart Growth’s goals, but notes that many were established prior to 1997.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Maryland State Finance and Procurement Code Annotated, Section 5-7B-07 (2007).

<sup>58</sup> Knaap et al., *Baltimore-Washington Corridor*, 6.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>60</sup> Maryland Department of Planning, *Maryland Department of Planning*.



### *Analysis of the Program*

Despite being proclaimed “one of the ten most innovative new government programs in the nation,”<sup>61</sup> conclusive evidence about the “success” of Smart Growth in Maryland is scant. Some quantitative studies seem to indicate that Smart Growth is making a difference: a 2003 study reported that during the first five years of the Rural Legacy Program, grants totaling \$132.9 million were awarded to protect an estimated 51,800 acres of land and that a total of 25 Rural Legacy Areas had been designated at the time of publishing in 21 of Maryland’s 23 counties.<sup>62</sup> A different report noted that in 2002, older schools in existing neighborhoods received 80 percent of new state school construction funds compared to 38 percent from the previous decade.<sup>63</sup>

Other analyses have been less clearly positive: a 2003 study by Knaap, Sohn, Frece, and Holler reported mixed success: that some evidence existed to suggest that a smaller proportion of urban development was occurring outside Priority Funding Areas, but based on county-level data, there was also evidence that growth was being deflected from suburban counties to outlying exurban counties.<sup>64</sup> Knaap and Schmidt-Perkins, writing in 2006, reported that Maryland’s Smart Growth has not had a major impact on land

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Knaap et al., *Baltimore-Washington Corridor*, 6.

<sup>63</sup> Radhika Rox and Sarah Treuhart, *Shared Prosperity, Stronger Regions: An Agenda for Rehabilitating America’s Core Cities*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Policylink, 2006), 63.

<sup>64</sup> Knaap et al., *Baltimore-Washington Corridor*, 2. This finding is consistent with Professor William Fischel’s argument about growth controls in general: that such regulations can cause sprawl rather than prevent it, by pushing development beyond the areas where controls are imposed. William A. Fischel, *Do Growth Controls Matter?* Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, Working Paper, 1990, 55-56, quoted in Ellickson and Been, 795.

development trends, pointing to the size and nature of the state incentives at work.<sup>65</sup> Similarly, Frece believes that Smart Growth's measures are simply too weak compared with powerful economic forces that drive sprawl, noting in 2005 that while land conservation programs seem to have been successful, there is no evidence to point to the fact that broader development patterns have changed.<sup>66</sup> According to a 2002 Maryland Department of Planning and Governor's Office of Smart Growth publication, in the 1950s and 1960s, about 90 percent of new housing constructed in the state was inside the boundaries of the areas that would later be designated PFAs. By 1998, however, only 75 percent of new housing units was built inside the future PFAs, and by 2000, the number had gone up only to 76 percent. In addition, at that time, low density, large lot development outside of PFAs was consuming about 75 percent of all the land being used for new development in the state.<sup>67</sup>

There has also been some debate about the specific effect of Smart Growth on the availability of housing. One 2003 study noted that, although Smart Growth was still a relatively new program at the time, there was evidence to suggest that state and local constraints on new development may be limiting the production of new housing, specifically by raising housing prices around Baltimore and Washington and pushing

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<sup>65</sup> Knaap and Schmidt-Perkins, "New Reality."

<sup>66</sup> Frece, 126, 129.

<sup>67</sup> The study referenced is *Smart Growth, A Comprehensive Review of Trends and Issues for the Future*. Knaap et al., *Baltimore-Washington Corridor*, 5.

development to outlying counties.<sup>68</sup> The study urged state policy-makers to address housing more thoroughly in Smart Growth policies. In addition, some believe that focusing on revitalization of older areas may have contributed to problems of gentrification, while newly-designed communities in the New Urbanist style that Smart Growth advocates are expensive to construct and therefore largely available only to the wealthy.<sup>69</sup>

Given the vehement opposition to the Barnes Commission's proposed growth management legislation just one year earlier, some point to the passage of the Smart Growth legislation in and of itself as a success. The strategy of developing a system that could affect local and private land use decisions, but that would preserve the ultimate authority in the hands of the county (and Baltimore City) governments earned the legislation bipartisan support and was a key factor in its passage. However, some find fault in this more moderate approach, arguing that the Smart Growth program skirted the politically sensitive issue of whether the state should have more authority over local land use decisions.<sup>70</sup> Smart Growth has no effect on sprawl that is privately-funded or funded by a local government: those local governments that do not need the support, and those developers that can carry out their projects without tax credits and grants, are not bound

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<sup>68</sup> Knaap et al., *Baltimore-Washington Corridor*. Litman counters the argument that smart growth increases housing costs by reducing land supply by point to the other various ways that smart growth lowers costs, by reducing parking and infrastructure costs, and reducing consumer transport costs (2) and to the fact that many studies fail to recognize that smart growth is often implemented in rapidly-growing areas where housing cost would be increasing even without smart growth.

<sup>69</sup> Frece, 130.

<sup>70</sup> Knaap and Schmidt-Perkins, "New Reality."

to incorporate Smart Growth's principles in their plans<sup>71</sup> and is therefore considered a major impediment to Smart Growth's potential to effect change. In addition to appeasing advocates of local land use control, the second strategic element in achieving the passage of the legislation is its linkage to what were, for the most part, already-established state programs. Instead of requiring the collection of new funds at the state level, Smart Growth's incentives-based system merely redefined the criteria for the distribution of already-accounted-for funds. Finally, the legislation presented a decidedly pro-growth stance. Instead of having to convince lawmakers that growth in Maryland should be slowed, the policies claim to merely redistribute growth more efficiently. When analyzing the success of the legislation, it must be borne in mind that a system requiring more affirmative actions from local governments or turning over more authority to the state would have been very unlikely to have garnered the sort of across-the-aisle support that helped Smart Growth become law.<sup>72</sup>

The development of the law has been criticized as failing to get the public at large involved in the early stages, which, some say, has resulted in its failure to adequately tailor itself to localized needs.<sup>73</sup> However, according to others, Glendening did solicit opinions from interested citizens and stakeholder groups, held meetings and forums, and considered legislative and administrative suggestions.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Frece, 126.

<sup>72</sup> Frece, 113, 125.

<sup>73</sup> Frece, 124.

<sup>74</sup> Cohen, "Maryland's Smart Growth," 7.

Because the legislation does not impose affirmative requirements on local governments or the private sector, the program depends heavily on the support of the governor and his cabinet.<sup>75</sup> For example, an Executive Order issued by Glendening to implement the 1997 PFA Act requires state agencies to implement the spirit of the Act and establishes procedures to be followed by the state government in doing so. In announcing the Order, Governor Glendening said:

this Executive Order goes beyond the limits of our Smart Growth legislation and says that the future actions of all State government agencies should be consistent with Smart Growth goals. State agencies, for instance, should give priority to central business districts or downtown core areas when locating new facilities. When we work with local governments in rural areas, our efforts should be to ensure that we sustain the character of rural villages. And, to the extent possible, we should encourage federal agencies operating in Maryland to take actions consistent with Maryland's Smart Growth goals.<sup>76</sup>

In addition to requiring compliance with the spirit, in addition to the letter, of the law, the possibilities written into the legislation for approval at the highest levels of the state government for projects outside of PFAs would allow a governor not committed to the principals of Smart Growth to, given the support of the Comptroller and Treasurer, circumvent the PFA limitations for pet projects.<sup>77</sup>

Besides relying on the enthusiasm and support of the governor's office, the 1997 Smart Growth legislation, in leaving the ultimate power to make land use decisions with local governments, makes widespread and uniform adoption of Smart Growth policies by local

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<sup>75</sup> Knaap and Schmidt-Perkins, "New Reality," Frece, 125-6.

<sup>76</sup> Maryland Department of Planning, *Smart Growth and Neighborhood Conservation Initiatives*, (Baltimore: Maryland Department of Planning, 1998), 15.

<sup>77</sup> Cohen, "Maryland's Smart Growth," 10.

governments difficult. Because the program is critically dependant on local zoning ordinances, inconsistent efforts throughout the state have resulted in inconsistent effects.<sup>78</sup> In a survey of various studies that have been conducted to attempt to evaluate Smart Growth, Knaap and Schmidt-Perkins report that one examination of land conversion to urban uses from 1992 to 2002 found that urban development after 1997 was more likely inside PFAs than outside them, but only in those counties that had strong urban containment programs before 1997, and a comprehensive analysis of the Rural Legacy Program by the Maryland Department of Planning found that the efficacy of the program depends critically on support from local zoning ordinances.<sup>79</sup>

Smart Growth has also been accused of failing to adequately address the needs of cities.

Baum argues that:

though the city is central to the sprawl system, its concerns are tangential to Smart Growth. Urban conditions have pushed people out and led many to believe their only alternatives are suburbs or rural areas. City problems include weak schools; crime; tense race relations; high unemployment, particularly among Black men; drug abuse; weak, often single-parent, families; a shortage of decent low-cost housing; and concentrated poverty, particularly among Blacks. If city residents designed programs to address their concerns, they would not create Smart Growth.<sup>80</sup>

Baum goes on to criticize the disingenuousness he sees in Smart Growth advocates' jargon, finding fault with governments that do not mention politics when discussing the implementation of a Smart Growth plan, but rather talk of "public participation" or

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<sup>78</sup> Knaap and Schmidt-Perkins, "New Reality."

<sup>79</sup> Knaap and Schmidt-Perkins, "New Reality."

<sup>80</sup> Baum, 17.

“citizen participation.” He argues that the participation envisioned and allowed for is not ongoing organization of community groups or deep and meaningful debate, but rather sporadic and individual contributions to carefully structured processes.<sup>81</sup>

Despite the criticisms of and interest in Smart Growth as a policy matter, remarkably few empirical studies have been carried out to measure whether Smart Growth is working or what the larger practical implications have been. One major difficulty in conducting any such studies is that no benchmarks have been established to determine its effectiveness.<sup>82</sup>

Although a set of (rather broad) goals, as discussed above, were used to develop the legislation, and ten principles were offered as means of achieving those goals, Smart Growth did not establish a concrete means to measure the success of the program, to determine whether growth was “on track” or whether the measures needed to be tweaked along the way. This thesis, while not an attempt to evaluate Smart Growth in a comprehensive manner, will evaluate its effect as applied in two specific places, thereby suggesting potential Smart Growth-related trends that merit further research in greater detail.

### **Historic Preservation in Maryland at the State Level**

The Maryland Historical Trust is the government agency that addresses historic preservation in Maryland. Formed in 1961, the Trust is a unit of the Division of Historical and Cultural Programs, which is an agency of the Maryland Department of

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<sup>81</sup> Baum, 17.

<sup>82</sup> Frece, 122-4.

Planning.<sup>83</sup> Within the Trust, the Office of Preservation Services administers state easement programs, capital grant, loan, and tax incentive programs, and technical preservation assistance programs.

In addition to the Trust, Preservation Maryland, a private, non-profit organization, is also active at the state level. Preservation Maryland is the state's oldest preservation organization, founded in 1931 as the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities.<sup>84</sup> Today the organization serves as an advocacy and outreach organization, lobbying the state and national governments for increased attention to historic preservation matters and offering technical assistance and advice. Preservation Maryland also administers two programs offering small (\$5000-\$10000 maximum) grants to nonprofit organizations and local governments: the Heritage Fund and the Tobacco Barn Restoration Fund.

### *Maryland Rehabilitation Tax Credits*

The most widely-used state-level program that is specific to historic preservation is the Maryland Heritage Structure Rehabilitation Tax Credit Program. The credit was created in 1996 as part of a statewide tourism initiative, the Maryland Heritage Preservation and Tourism Areas Program, and was authorized by the Maryland legislature in 1997. The credit, which was scheduled to sunset on June 30, 2008, was extended for two more years

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<sup>83</sup> Maryland Historical Trust, *Maryland Historical Trust*, 20 April 2007, <[www.marylandhistoricaltrust.net](http://www.marylandhistoricaltrust.net)> (21 April 2007).

<sup>84</sup> Preservation Maryland, *Preservation Maryland*, (24 April 2007) <<http://www.preservemd.org/>> (26 April 2007).



during Maryland's most recent legislative session.<sup>85</sup> Although the credit was not part of the Smart Growth legislation package, the state government includes the tax credit in its list of Smart Growth programs.<sup>86</sup> The program is administered by the National Park Service, in conjunction with the Maryland Historical Trust, and provides Maryland income tax credits equal to the lesser of 20 percent of the total qualified capital costs expended in the rehabilitation of a "certified heritage structure." The credit is capped at \$3 million for commercial structures and \$50,000 for an individual owner-occupied rehabilitation project.<sup>87</sup> A certified structure is defined as one that is either listed in the National Register of Historic Places, designated as a historic property under local law, located in a national or local historic district, and/or located in a certified heritage area and certified as contributing to the area's significance.<sup>88</sup>

In order to qualify for the credit, rehabilitation expenditures over 24 months must be "significant," which means that they must exceed \$5,000 for owner-occupied residential property, or the greater of the adjusted basis of the structure or \$5,000 for all other property (commercial properties). The practical result of the minimum rehabilitation expenditure requirement is that only badly deteriorated and undervalued commercial properties are both economically feasible and eligible for the tax credit.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Maryland General Assembly, "House Bill 598," 2 April 2007.  
<<http://mlis.state.md.us/2007RS/billfile/hb0598.htm>> (25 April 2007).

<sup>86</sup> Governor's Office on Smart Growth, *Historic Preservation and Smart Growth*, January, 2003.

<sup>87</sup> Maryland State Finance and Procurement Code Annotated § 5A-303 (2007).

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> Lipman, Frizzell, and Mitchell LLC, 9.

In addition, all rehabilitation work must conform to the Secretary of the Interior's *Standards for Rehabilitation* and be certified by the Maryland Historical Trust.<sup>90</sup> Unlike some other tax credit programs, the Maryland credit covers exterior as well as interior work, including the modernization of kitchens and bathrooms and utility upgrades. For most rehabilitations, the amount that the tax credit exceeds the year's tax liability is refunded in a check, and for those not eligible for a refund, the unused credit may be carried forward for the next ten tax years.

The law has undergone significant changes since its passage in 1996. Starting in 1997, the credit was equal to ten percent of qualified rehabilitation expenditures; the credit was raised in 1998 to 15 percent and again in 1999 to 25 percent. Also, in 1999, the credits became refundable and 501 (c)(3) non profit organizations also became eligible for a refund. For tax years 2002 and later, the credit was reduced to 20 percent and refunds were also limited to \$3 million per commercial project. The General Assembly also began placing an aggregate cap on credits approved for commercial projects. The cap was placed at \$23 million for 2003, and \$15 million for 2004. In 2004, the law was amended to include a stipulation that no more than 50 percent of the initial credit certificates issued in a single fiscal year could be located in one county or in Baltimore City. These limitations particularly affected Baltimore, where the vast majority of credit dollars were spent before 2004: in both 2005 and 2006, projects from Baltimore City

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<sup>90</sup> Maryland State Finance and Procurement Code Annotated § 5A-303 (2007).

were awarded the maximum 50 percent of the available credits, indicating a demand greater than the credits actually granted.<sup>91</sup> While some Baltimore property owners were denied the credit, demand in other parts of the state was not enough to meet the aggregate cap and some of the remaining allowable funds went unused. The 2007 amendment raises the total allowable credit amount for any one county or Baltimore City from 50 percent to 75 percent of the total credit amounts, and permits “recycling” of unawarded funds. In addition, in 2004, the General Assembly created a reserve fund, which required a budget allowance for commercial rehabilitations of at least \$20 million in 2006 and \$30 million in 2007 and 2008 and capped rehabilitation expenditures at the amount in the reserve fund. In the most recent legislative session, the Maryland legislature removed the reserve fund budget allowance requirement, but did appropriate \$25 million to the fund.

A 2005 National Trust for Historic Preservation *Forum* report criticized the aggregate cap, arguing that despite the cap’s relatively high amount, because applicants must compete for available funds, and because individual jurisdictions are limited, potential applicants for smaller and more marginal projects tend to be discouraged by the uncertainty of getting the credit and the time and money cost of preparing an application.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Lipman, Frizzell, and Mitchell LLC, 10.

<sup>92</sup> Harry K. Schwartz, “State Tax Credits for Historic Preservation,” *Model State Policies*, National Trust for Historic Preservation Forum, November/December 2005, available at <http://www.nationaltrust.org/advocacy/case/ForumPolicyInsert.pdf>.

A 2002 report submitted to Preservation Maryland by a real estate consulting firm, Lipman, Frizzell, and Mitchell LLC, found that 247 rehabilitation projects, 40 commercial projects and 207 single family residential projects, were accomplished in Maryland using the Heritage Structure Rehabilitation Tax Credits during 2000-2001. The majority of the rehabilitation projects (83.8 percent) were on residential structures; however, 91.0 percent of the rehabilitation expenditures were for commercial projects. The report found a very high usage of the program in Baltimore City, accounting for 26.7 percent of the total projects and 88.9 percent of the total rehabilitation expenditures. The report also found that not only are the tax credits being taken advantage of, they also provide critical funding for otherwise impossible rehabilitation projects: over 93 percent of applicants for commercial projects and 43 percent of applicants for single-family residence projects reported that they would not have invested in the rehabilitation had it not been for the tax credit. The report concluded that:

as an economic development initiative, the State's historic preservation tax credit program has clearly succeeded in focusing public resources on Baltimore City and other older urban areas in need of revitalization, for projects which otherwise would not have been undertaken. These projects have succeeded in bringing long-derelict, blighted, historic buildings back to new economic uses, resulting in significant net new jobs during the construction period as well as permanent jobs. The program has directly influenced location decisions by project sponsors to choose Maryland over other states, and to choose existing buildings in older communities over greenfield locations.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> Lipman, Frizzell, and Mitchell LLC, 2.

In addition, an analysis of the 2007 fiscal budget for the state found that the state rehabilitation tax credit is responsible for leveraging significant private investment.

### **CHAPTER THREE: HISTORIC PRESERVATION AND SMART GROWTH**

While the connection between historic preservation and growth management seems obvious to some who argue that, “[b]y utilizing existing properties to provide housing and commercial space, historic preservation can solve the problem of sprawl in a cost effective manner,”<sup>94</sup> the issue is more complex than swapping out one type of development for another. Historic preservation will never be the only answer to the problem of sprawl; nonetheless, it can offer a very useful strategy in an integrated plan for re-centralization of metropolitan areas.

A look at the policies of the Smart Growth initiative in Maryland reveals key roles that historic preservation can play in advancing Smart Growth goals in the state. In many ways, Smart Growth is an attempt at rectifying the problems that have developed as a result of the rise of Euclidean zoning practices.<sup>95</sup> Historically, urban areas were created by integrating residential structures with retail and other structures. This practice went out of style (and frequently became impossible) as local land use regulations made low-density, all-residential bedroom developments the norm. Older urban areas, originally designed to accommodate mixed uses, today can easily accommodate restaurant, retail, and commercial uses to achieve the type of mixed land use that Smart Growth advocates

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<sup>94</sup> Mann, 217.

<sup>95</sup> Litman notes that some smart growth critics assume that current policies are neutral – that is, they allow current land use patterns to reflect consumer preferences; he, and others, believe that smart growth strategies are, instead, market reforms that correct past distortions caused by past and existing government policies. Litman, 4.

as its Principle 1. In the same way, compact building design (Principle 2), and walkable communities (Principle 4) are both also implicated in the re-inhabitation of historic cities and inner-ring suburban neighborhoods, as many historic areas were constructed prior to the proliferation of the automobile (and thus in more contained spaces).

The fostering of urban areas with a distinct sense of place (Principle 5) is one of the greatest strengths of utilizing historic preservation as a Smart Growth tool. Adaptation of historic buildings for new uses offers unique building fabric and continuity with the past that cannot be offered by new construction. Principle 7, to strengthen and direct development toward existing communities is also furthered by historic preservation. Many existing communities are historic (even if not designated as such), and rehabilitating and upgrading existing infrastructure and resources is often more efficient and less expensive, in many cases, than beginning anew elsewhere.

Principle 3, to create housing opportunities and choices, addresses the issue of affordable housing. Historic structures have been used in many cases very successfully as a means of providing affordable housing.<sup>96</sup> Historic preservation tax incentives can be combined with low income housing tax credits and other programs to create housing that is economically successful for developers and affordable for residents. Historic

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<sup>96</sup> Donovan Rypkema, "Historic Preservation and Affordable Housing: The Missed Connection," National Trust for Historic Preservation: Issues and Initiatives in Housing, 2002; Sarah Shotwell, "Mixed Income Housing and Historic Preservation: How Existing Structures Can Fulfill Housing Needs Through Incorporation with Mixed-Income Housing Developments," (Master's thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2006).

preservation is criticized in many cases as a cause of gentrification, especially in debating the merits of historic districting and in “condoification” of large rehabilitated historic structures. It is true that historic preservation can raise property values, and therefore rents, in certain cases; however, just as with development of new land, there are many different ways to go about the revitalization of a historic area, not all of which must cause gentrification and displacement.

While historic preservation does not directly advance the provision of a variety of transportation choices (Principle 8), the fact that many historic areas existed and flourished prior to the widespread use of the automobile means that most of these urban areas are already in center cities (thus often a bus ride away from employment) or along rail, light rail, or subway lines, making access to them via public transportation very easy.

Historic preservation may also promote the other three Smart Growth principles, although perhaps more tangentially than the others. Although there can be no direct correlation, an opportunity does exist for existing historic areas to absorb population and infill development, development that would have infringed on open space and farmland (Principle 6). In addition, although historic preservation does not by definition encourage community and stakeholder collaboration in development decisions (Principle 10), many methods employed and advocated in historic preservation circles do.

Making the argument that historic preservation aids in making development decisions predictable, fair, or cost-effective (Principle 9) is a bit more difficult. All too often,



historical commissions responsible for approving or disapproving permits in historic districts are accused of acting arbitrarily and applying vague standards. Additionally, it cannot be denied that adhering to preservation ordinances and design standards imposes additional monetary costs on property owners. Nonetheless, historic preservation regulations can (and should) be incorporated into comprehensive plans, plans which, when adhered to, clearly set priorities and expectations for development, making ultimate decisions more predictable and consistent.

It is clear that there exists an opportunity for historic preservation to work within a Smart Growth regime, especially in older inner-city and inner-ring suburban areas. What is not clear, is the quality of the historic preservation and neighborhood change that is achieved in doing so. The case studies that follow highlight some of the synergies and inconsistencies that are created when the Smart Growth adopts historic preservation as a tool for urban redevelopment.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: HYATTSVILLE CASE STUDY**

### **Background**

The City of Hyattsville is a middle class suburban community located in Prince George's County, Maryland, six miles northeast of Washington, D.C. and thirty miles southwest of Baltimore (Ill. 2). Less than two and a quarter square miles in area, the city sits just south of the bustling University of Maryland at College Park, nestled between the Anacostia River's northwest and northeast branches (Ill. 3). The city developed in stops and starts on a modified grid pattern since its initial 1873 platting. Its history and physical characteristics have been largely influenced by the transportation corridor that runs through the western portion of the city, Interstate One, while the interior contains a potpourri of residential and institutional structures dating from around 1860. Although there is no local preservation district in Hyattsville, the Hyattsville National Historic District was originally listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1982 and was expanded in 2004 (Ill. 4). Today, Hyattsville is served by two Washington Metrorail stops (the West Hyattsville and Prince George's Plaza stations), the MARC train, and frequent bus service.

Many Hyattsville families go back generations, lending a sense of continuity and community to the city. Hyattsville is run by an active local government, headed by Mayor William Gardiner and ten City Council members, and its residents support many clubs and associations. The city boasts an especially large community of artists, reflected in the presence of a number of artists' organizations.

The residents of Hyattsville are a racially and ethnically diverse group. In a 2006 *Washington Post* article, Mayor Bill Gardiner confirmed that he counts among his neighbors “Jamaicans of Indian ancestry, political refugees from Sri Lanka, a white Jewish family and a World War II vet who's lived there for 50 years.”<sup>97</sup> According to the United States Census Bureau’s 2000 Census statistics, the city at the time had a total population of 14,733, of which 40 percent was white, 41 percent was black, 18 percent was Latino, four percent was Asian, and 11 percent was “some other race.”<sup>98</sup> There were 5,795 total housing units, 5,540 of which were occupied. Of the occupied units, 51 percent were owner-occupied, and 49 percent were renter-occupied. The median household income in 1999 was \$45,355, with about eight percent of families and 11 percent of individuals living below the poverty line. Eighty one percent of the population was reported to hold a high school degree or higher and 27 percent was reported to hold a Bachelor’s degree or higher.

## History

Early in the eighteenth century, a settlement was located along the Anacostia River, at the location of today’s Hyattsville, but by 1742, the citizens of the little outpost known as Beale Town (also referred to as Beall Town) had, for economic and topographical reasons, abandoned their settlement and moved across the Anacostia to Garrison’s

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<sup>97</sup> Darragh Johnson, “A Haven Grows in Hyattsville,” *Washington Post*, 5 March 2006, W30.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

Landing (today's Bladensburg). The Beale town settlement disappeared and the surrounding area remained agricultural until the nineteenth century.

In 1815, the Washington and Baltimore Turnpike, the predecessor to today's Route One, was constructed, and grew to its final 36 miles in the few years that followed. Taverns and inns were soon erected along the stone and gravel turnpike to serve those traveling between Washington and Baltimore by horse-car. By 1835, tracks for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, the first American steam-powered railroad, had been laid parallel to the Turnpike and began to bring more people through the area.

A few years later, in March of 1845, Christopher Clark Hyatt, the owner of a successful store in neighboring Bladensburg, purchased a tract of land between the Turnpike and the railroad tracks. Due to the parcel's proximity to both the railroad and telegraph lines, he believed the location would be ideal for a town, and began by constructing a general store on his plot. The growth of the area surrounding Hyatt's store began slowly: nineteenth-century maps show that at that time roads had not yet been laid. However, the town's development soon began to pick up speed, thanks to a railroad station that was established in 1861 to pick up passengers in Hyattsville.

During the third quarter of the nineteenth century, Hyatt and others began to purchase large plots of land in the area. Foreseeing a demand for housing outside of the growing city of Washington, the lots were subdivided and sold to individuals, both undeveloped and improved. G.M. Hopkin's 1878 *Atlas of Prince George's County* describes

Hyattsville at the time as a, “beautiful village [with] tasteful houses in the modern style of architecture ornamented with gardens and lawns... [I]t has gradually increased in beauty and prosperity until it stands as one of the foremost villages between Baltimore and Washington.”<sup>99</sup>

Unlike most other Washington railroad suburbs, Hyattsville did not immediately develop as a summer haven for wealthy Washingtonians; rather the village attracted working class residents who took advantage of their proximity to the railroad for wholesale trade between Washington and Baltimore. Through the 1870s and 1880s, the majority of Hyattsville residents continued to earn their livelihood in agriculture-related occupations, or as blacksmiths, tailors, merchants, hotelkeepers, and lawyers.<sup>100</sup>

In 1886, the village, which had been referred to unofficially as Hyattsville since 1859, requested from the Maryland General Assembly official incorporation as the Town of Hyattsville. Reacting to the pressures of the growing demand for suburban communities outside of increasingly-industrial Washington, D.C., real estate speculators began to advertise the town during the last decades of the nineteenth century. Such advertisements touted the clean water, pure air, and new housing in Hyattsville and resulted in large and steady population increases through the beginning of the twentieth century. The majority of the dwellings constructed during this first building boom were in the Queen Anne

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<sup>99</sup> City of Hyattsville, “National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, Hyattsville Historic District (Amended and Expanded),” Washington, D.C.: United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, n.d, 19.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 19. The information was gleaned from 1870 and 1880 census records.

style, with ornate side and rear elevations (Ill.s 5-8). Many homes were angled on their lots in order to make each elevation clearly visible from the public road.

By 1893, Hyattsville had established a public school, a volunteer fire department, an amateur baseball team, churches of four denominations, three grocery markets, three butcher shops, blacksmith and tinsmith shops, wood and coal dealers, a livery stable, and a Masonic lodge (Ill. 9). These nonresidential buildings were generally located on or near the Washington and Baltimore Turnpike, which was at that time the main transportation artery through the town.<sup>101</sup>

With the extension of a streetcar line from Washington to Hyattsville in 1899, the town truly began to flourish, attracting more middle-class and some upper-class Washington commuters. During this time, real estate entrepreneurs and builders constructed modest interpretations of the Queen Anne and Colonial styles for prospective residents, and merchants hoping to serve the new population constructed many one- and two-story free standing and attached commercial structures along the turnpike. A few notable institutional structures were also constructed during this time, such as the Professional Building, constructed in 1904 (Ill. 10). The growing population demanded modern amenities, and in 1901 a referendum passed for the installation of a water system for the whole town. The system was completed in 1905 becoming one of the first municipal water systems in the state.

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<sup>101</sup> Ibid, 21.

In the early twentieth century, streetcar service to Hyattsville was terminated and the transition from streetcar suburb to automobile suburb began. An Armory was constructed in 1918, designed and built as an exact three-quarters model of Windsor Castle, as the headquarters for the First Maryland Infantry (Ill. 11), and a Church in an eclectic style, blending Richardsonian and Arts and Crafts Elements, was constructed in 1915 (Ill. 12). During this time, architectural styles shifted to modified open-plan bungalows, American foursquares, and Cape-Cods (Ill. 13). Employment trends were also shifting, as agriculture made way for more white-collar professions, such as dentistry, medicine, journalism, bookkeeping, surveying, teaching, banking, architecture, and law.<sup>102</sup> The establishment of new commercial business along the turnpike brought a period of renewal to the former horse-car route, which resulted in the demolition or extensive alteration of many of its nineteenth- and early twentieth-century buildings and the construction of new transportation-related structures in their place. The portion of the turnpike known as Baltimore Avenue was given the epithet, “Auto Alley,” reflecting the numerous automobile repair businesses, filling stations, and garages that had sprung up along and near the avenue.

During and after World War II, development in Hyattsville shifted westward, resulting in a commercial and residential district west of the original downtown. Most of the homes built during this phase of development were constructed as “starter” homes for veterans,

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<sup>102</sup> Ibid, 22.

many of which are still owned by the original purchasers.<sup>103</sup> A number of apartment complexes were also constructed at this time. By the mid-twentieth century, the city had become the hub of Prince George's County political and commercial activity, and its official name was changed from Town of Hyattsville to City of Hyattsville in 1943, reflecting its growing size and importance. The population increased to over 6,500 by 1940, and more than doubled by 1950, and an additional ten thousand citizens had moved into the area after 1950.<sup>104</sup>

The creation of Interstate 95 and the Baltimore-Washington Parkway in the 1950s diverted traffic away from the turnpike, by then renamed U.S. Route One, which had been part of the main thoroughfare along the east coast. At that time, almost half of the Hyattsville residents that worked were employed outside of Prince George's County, most commuting by automobile.<sup>105</sup> A few office buildings and a shopping mall opened in the late 1960s, but for the most part, with fewer people passing through and the commercial focus on often-unsightly automobile-related services, the economic vitality of the town stagnated.

During the 1990s, the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Association ("WMATA") rededicated itself to previously-abandoned construction on Metrorail's green line, the most-delayed of the five lines. The West Hyattsville and Prince George's Plaza stops, the

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<sup>103</sup> City of Hyattsville, *Community Legacy Application*, Submitted 24 July 2001, available at <http://www.hyattsville.org/CLA2001/>.

<sup>104</sup> City of Hyattsville, "National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form," 24.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.



two Metrorail stations that serve Hyattsville, were finally in service in 1993, although the entire green line was not complete until 2001 (a full 25 years after the first Metrorail line was placed into operation).

### **Layers of Regulation**

The City of Hyattsville is run by a mayor and a ten-member city council. The municipal government has limited control, however, and, most notably in the realm of land use and historic preservation, the authority to regulate is not within its purview. Instead, a bi-county agency, the Maryland National Capital Parks and Planning Commission (“M-NCPPC”) manages public parkland and controls land use planning for Prince George’s County and neighboring Montgomery County. The M-NCPPC was formed in 1927 by the State of Maryland to assemble and maintain a regional parks system, and now has the responsibility of preparing and administering a general plan for the physical development of the two Washington, D.C.-area Maryland counties. The M-NCPPC is composed of ten appointed members, five from Prince George’s County and five from Montgomery County. Under the umbrella of the M-NCPPC, the planning boards of both Montgomery and Prince George’s Counties regulate the land use of municipalities and unincorporated areas within. Prince George’s County was granted a home rule charter by the state in 1970, and despite the joining of the Prince George’s and Montgomery County Planning Boards under the M-NCPPC, the two operate with considerable independence from one another, sharing a small bi-county staff for mostly administrative matters.

Despite its limited authority in zoning and other land use matters, the government of the City of Hyattsville is instrumental in presenting a unified voice for the city. Its website lists the functions and objectives of the City Council, which include creating and implementing economic development plans, developing and promoting investment incentives, attracting new businesses to Hyattsville, identifying and creating funding for economic development, pursuing annexation of commercial properties, enhancing the image and profile of the city, and promoting community building, among others.<sup>106</sup> In conjunction with the Hyattsville Community Development Corporation (“HyCDC”), the local government of Hyattsville has worked very hard to strategically promote the interests of the city despite its relative lack of authority in land use matters.

### **Challenges and Assets**

During the last third of the twentieth century, Hyattsville struggled with many of the forces common to many inner-ring suburbs across the nation, most notably, dwindling commercial outlets, deteriorating built fabric, diminishing population, and loss of municipal resources. Almost no investment was focused on the formerly vibrant Route One and West Hyattsville commercial areas, and the rundown appearance of some of the commercial buildings on thoroughfares in the city only worsened the disinvestment trend. According to a city publication, the commercial real estate market during these years had

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<sup>106</sup> City of Hyattsville, *The City of Hyattsville, Maryland*, n.d. <[www.hyattsville.org](http://www.hyattsville.org)> (15 December 2006).

become “stagnant at best.”<sup>107</sup> New residents were discouraged from moving to the area by the poor reputation and performance of city schools, the reputation of the area as crime-filled, the lack of amenities such as shops and restaurants, and the lack of confidence in the local government.

Compared with other areas of the county and state, Hyattsville’s growth over the last two decades of the twentieth century was very slow: while the Maryland’s population grew by about 11 percent from 1990-2000 and the county’s grew by about ten percent, Hyattsville’s grew by only 6 percent, from 14,000 to 14,733.<sup>108</sup> Hyattsville lagged behind the rest of the state in income growth statistics as well: the 2000 estimate for median household income was \$41,781, lower than neighboring incorporated areas, such as College Park (\$52,236), Greenbelt (\$49,413), Takoma Park (\$52,584), and lower than Prince George’s County (\$53,409) and the state (\$65,507). Hyattsville’s median household income estimate in 2000 was higher than only one nearby municipality, Mount Rainier (\$36,612).<sup>109</sup>

Between 1990 and 2000, Hyattsville gained just 94 units of new housing, a two percent increase, while Prince George’s County experienced a 12 percent increase and the state experienced a 13 percent increase. During those years, Hyattsville did experience a slight increase in the rate of owner occupancy (from 50.5 percent to 51.1 percent), a statistic

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<sup>107</sup> City of Hyattsville, *Community Legacy Application*, 3.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 4. The data comes from 1990 and 2000 Census records.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

often considered to be an indication of stability in a community. And while Hyattsville did not reach the state's level of owner occupancy (at 68 percent in 2000) or the county's (62 percent), the city did have higher levels than neighboring Greenbelt (46 percent), Mount Rainier (27 percent) and Takoma Park (45 percent).<sup>110</sup> Another figure that indicates stability in Hyattsville is the length of occupation of most residents: according to 2000 Census data, approximately half of the occupants had moved into their unit ten or more years earlier.<sup>111</sup> In addition to owner-occupancy rates and length of occupation statistics, housing vacancy statistics also speak to Hyattsville relatively stable housing market during the late 1990s: in 1990, four percent (234 units) of the city's 5,773 total housing units were reported to be vacant. In 2000, the vacancy rate bumped up to 4.4 percent (255 units) of the 5,795 total housing units. These rates are better than those in neighboring Greenbelt (with a housing vacancy rate of eight percent in 2000) and Mount Rainier (seven percent), and better than those in Prince George's County (five percent) and the state (eight percent).<sup>112</sup>

A look at the housing construction data reveals that by the beginning of the twenty first century, nearly 80 percent of the 5,773 housing units were constructed before 1960, and approximately 55 percent would be considered historic by the Department of Interior's

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>111</sup> United States Census of Population and Housing. *Profile of Selected Housing Characteristics: 2000: Hyattsville, Maryland*. Washington: GPO, 1991.

<sup>112</sup> City of Hyattsville, *Community Legacy Application*, 9.

standards at 50 years old or older (Ill.14). Less than 200 housing units were constructed between 1980 and 2000.<sup>113</sup>

Hyattsville experienced a notable demographic shift at the end of the twentieth century, a shift that paralleled county and state demographic trends: the percentage of White, non-Hispanic population decreased, the percentage of Black, non-Hispanic population grew and the percentages of Asian and Hispanic origin population grew.<sup>114</sup> Between 1990 and 2000, African-American supplanted White as the most populous racial category in the city, growing from 29 percent of the population in 1990 to 40 percent in 2000. The Hispanic population exploded in Hyattsville and elsewhere in Maryland during those years as well, increasing in Hyattsville from 7 percent to 18 percent in those ten years.<sup>115</sup>

A major obstacle in attracting new businesses and residents to Hyattsville has been its widespread perception as a city plagued by crime.<sup>116</sup> Over the past few decades, Hyattsville and Prince George's County have developed a reputation as a crime-ridden area, receiving especially damning coverage by the media.<sup>117</sup> Crime statistics based on

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<sup>113</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>116</sup> Elaine Murphy, personal communication, 27 February 2007. Krissah Williams, "Reclaiming Lost Ground," *Washington Post*, 2 September 2002, E.

<sup>117</sup> In an April 2006 episode of ABC's drama, *Commander-in-Chief*, Geena Davis' character, the first female President of the United States, is seen watching a local news segment about an unruly Prince George's County protest about the area's high homicide rate and insufficient police protection. She then goes to Hyattsville, emerging from her car in front of a restaurant advertising sweet potato pie and chitterlings. Eventually U.S. Marshals are sent in to curb the violence. City Councilman Peter Shapiro, among others, "said he was astounded as he watched the show. 'They took the largest, wealthiest black county and reduced it to a stereotype of a poor, dangerous black neighborhood . . . [a]nd the irony is the

2005 FBI crime data indicate that Hyattsville does indeed have an overall higher rate of crime than the national average. Crime rates were above the national average specifically for robbery, motor vehicle theft, and larceny/theft; however, data indicated that Hyattsville's crime level is better than the national average for many violent crimes such as murder, rape and aggravated assault, and for burglary.<sup>118</sup>

### **Recent Changes**

Although two significant government buildings were built in Hyattsville during the early 1990s, the Hyattsville Municipal Building and the Maryland District Courthouse, Hyattsville's revitalization momentum did not begin to pick up until the late 1990s. Some small early changes in Hyattsville were landscaping and lighting improvements to Hamilton Street, an area adjacent to the West Hyattsville Metro station, through the use of in-kind city services, Neighborhood Conservation Funds, and Community Development Block Grant funds, and the renovation of a 1940s commercial strip shopping center.<sup>119</sup>

In the mid 1990s, the city began working with a longtime Hyattsville property owner, Herschel Blumberg, on a development near the Prince George's Metro station. Between

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neighborhood isn't even a poor black neighborhood.” Allison Klein and Ovetta Wiggins, “Starring Role in ABC Drama Leaves Pr. George's Fuming,” *Washington Post*, 29 April 2006, A1.

<sup>118</sup> AreaConnect, “Hyattsville, Maryland Crime Statistics and Crime Data (2005 Crime Data),” in *AreaConnect*, 2007 <<http://hyattsville.areaconnect.com/crime1.htm>> (1 April 2007).

<sup>119</sup> The shopping strip developer was one of the first to recognize the city's earnestness in turning Hyattsville around. According to a city publication, she mentioned “repeatedly that it was the city's improvements that provided physical and financial incentive for the acquisition and was a factor in funding their subsequent renovation program.” City of Hyattsville, *Community Legacy Application*, 23-4.

1952 and 1954 Herschel Blumberg and his brother bought 600 acres of land in Hyattsville for less than \$2 million, planning to develop an elaborate town center on the land. They began at East-West Highway and Belcrest Road with a few apartment complexes and three commercial structures built in 1963, 1968, and 1971, all designed by Edward Durell Stone (Ill. 15). As Hyattsville's economic climate turned colder in the 1970s, Blumberg halted his plans and sat on the property for decades. By the late 1990s, as the Prince George County housing market began showing signs of life, Blumberg hired a design team, Parker/Rodriguez, to develop a plan for the site. In 1996 he renovated the two original Stone buildings, and ten years later, in 2006, he renovated the third. The project, called the University Town Center, is a \$1.2 billion mixed-use development on the 56 acre site's remaining 47 open acres.<sup>120</sup>

In 2001, the city was awarded by Prince George's County the designation as a Commercial Area Revitalization Effort Program ("CARE"), a program aimed at promoting, "economic vitality in the older, neighborhood commercial areas of Prince George's County by providing comprehensive revitalization assistance." Recipients of CARE funds, who often match the grants on a one to one basis, can receive financing in the form of low-interest loans and grants, to be used for façade upgrades, new business assistance and promotion, and advice regarding regulatory matters such as permits and

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<sup>120</sup> Suzanne White, "Prince George's Developer Starts Project Near Metro," *Washington Business Journal Online*, 3 August 2001, <<http://www.bizjournals.com/washington/stories/2001/08/06/story4.html>>.

inspections. The boundaries of the program are between 42nd Place and Jefferson Street on Route One.

Also in 2001, the city administration, through the assistance and input of many community members,<sup>121</sup> applied for and was granted designation as a Community Legacy Area under the Maryland Community Legacy Program in July of 2001.<sup>122</sup> The Community Legacy Program is administered by the Maryland Department of Housing and Community Development Division of Neighborhood Revitalization, providing capital to local governments and their nonprofit partners. As awards are meant to fill in gaps in the realization of community revitalization initiatives, part of the application process requires applicant communities to present or develop a comprehensive revitalization plan, identifying specific projects. Only communities within Smart Growth Priority Funding Areas are considered for Community Legacy Area designation.

The City's application for designation expressed its plans for the future:

Once implemented, a revitalization and/or redevelopment plan for the commercial areas will bring property values up to the appropriate market level in the region. The physical improvements will help to attract a more educated population who will insist upon improvements to the school system. The physical changes and a well-organized public information campaign will change perceptions and attitudes about crime and Hyattsville in general. Though city leaders and residents have always believed that Hyattsville is a great community, the steps taken as a result

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<sup>121</sup> Some of the letters that were submitted by Hyattsville residents, businesses, and community groups in support of the designation of the Community Legacy Area are on the Hyattsville City website. City of Hyattsville, "Community Legacy Application," *The City of Hyattsville, Maryland*, n.d., <<http://www.hyattsville.org/cla2001/dox/HyResolution.pdf>> (20 January 2007) .

<sup>122</sup> City of Hyattsville, Resolution 01-03: Designation of a Community Legacy Area, 16 July 2001, available at <http://www.hyattsville.org/cla2001/dox/HyResolution.pdf>.



of the Community Legacy planning process and the projects that will be implemented as a result will ensure progress toward achieving a community sense of well being and pride.<sup>123</sup>

In order to serve as a facilitator of the application process and the eventual implementation of the Community Legacy Plan, the Hyattsville Community Development Corporation, “(HyCDC)”, was founded in early 2001. According to Executive Director Stuart Eisenberg, the main objective of HyCDC is to carry out the Community Legacy Plan, which is intended to serve as a roadmap for the future development of the City.<sup>124</sup> Eisenberg sees his function partly as a marketer for Hyattsville, responsible for attracting the “right kind of businesses.” For example, he encourages landlords to lease their commercial space to businesses that act as magnets for customers and other businesses, such as boutiques and restaurants, rather than businesses such as pawn shops, that tend to attract lower-end commercial enterprises, such as more pawn shops and dollar stores.<sup>125</sup>

HyCDC also gives zoning advice and technical support to potential property owners and business people and guides property and business owners to available county and state funding sources. According to Eisenberg, by supporting private development and using Community Legacy Fund monies to invest in targeted infrastructure, the city (through the concerted efforts of HyCDC) has generated \$1 billion of development in Hyattsville.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> City of Hyattsville, *Community Legacy Application*, 3.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>125</sup> Stuart Eisenberg, personal communication, 1 March 2007.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*

Another main goal of the community group is to promote adaptive reuse downtown, specifically along Route One (Ill.s 16-17). HyCDC has developed a specific strategy for the eclectic mix of structures, some of which date to the nineteenth century, and many of which stand testament to Hyattsville's "Auto Alley" era. After reviewing a feasibility study conducted by an outside firm, Eisenberg and the HyCDC found that the market in Hyattsville would support a restaurant district along Route One. HyCDC is now working on finding potential restaurateurs and assisting them in rehabilitating the Route One structures for use as restaurants.

The feasibility study was based on financial data provided by the earliest and, by many accounts, only successful local business in Hyattsville, Franklin's Brewpub and Restaurant. Franklin's began in an 1880s building on Route One that had housed the Hyattsville Hardware store until 1992 (Ill. 18-19). In 1992, Mike Franklin opened up a toy store in the space, utilizing many of the original hardware store's fixtures. In 2002, Franklin built on his success, expanding into a new \$1.2 million building next door, where he opened a brewpub and restaurant.<sup>127</sup> According to one *Washington Post* writer, Franklin's is an oasis of life on what is otherwise a "sad strip of used-car dealers, abandoned buildings and empty lots." He writes:

Still, for one quick block in the heart of Hyattsville, Route 1 turns retro chic -- the hipster tone created by Franklins, an industrial-looking brew pub and general

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<sup>127</sup> Franklins, *Franklins*, n.d., <<http://www.franklinsbrewery.com>> (10 March 2007).

store. Its corrugated metal siding, neon diner signs and urbane merchandise have inspired a cult following and offered a glimpse of what Route 1 could become.<sup>128</sup>

According to Eisenberg, there were no conventional financiers for Franklin's project at the time other than a typical historic district loan such as a CARE grant for façade improvements. In order to get the financing for his project approved, Franklin was able to secure a loan guarantee from Governor Glendening (a former member of the Hyattsville City Council, whose personal ties to the area, Eisenberg suggests, prompted him agree to assist the entrepreneur). Given that every new business owner will not be able to benefit from such personal connections, the HyCDC recognizes that new businesses need more than just façade improvement funds to get off the ground in the in-transition area.

In 2004, the HyCDC helped to achieve the expansion of the Hyattsville National Historic District, utilizing part of the funds from the 2001 Community Legacy Grant for the technical assistance required from EHT Traceries historic preservation firm to complete the work involved. The expansion was promoted:

both as an incentive to property owners, particularly those whose properties were located in areas vulnerable to razing such as those in East Hyattsville or close to the Metro, and also to bring deserved recognition and focus to the historic and architectural significance of other parts of the city.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> Darragh Johnson, "A Haven Grows in Hyattsville."

<sup>129</sup> Corinne Rothblum, "Memorandum to Mayor Bill Gardener and the Members of the Hyattsville City Council," 21 February, 2004, available at [http://www.hyattsville.org/images/hy/2002/04Agenda\\_Historicpresentation022304.pdf](http://www.hyattsville.org/images/hy/2002/04Agenda_Historicpresentation022304.pdf).

The numbers of property owners utilizing tax credits was already on the rise at the time of the district's 2004 expansion: between the credit's inception in 1997 and 2000, only two Maryland Rehabilitation Tax Credits, totaling \$48,000 in rehabilitation costs, were claimed in Hyattsville.<sup>130</sup> From 2000-2005, twenty-three buildings were rehabilitated using the credit, totaling \$547,719.17 in rehabilitation costs.<sup>131</sup> It is likely that 2005-2010 data will reveal a continued increase in credit utilization.

Another state initiative, the Arts and Entertainment District Program, had a meaningful impact on the city. Maryland Arts and Entertainment District Designation, like Community Legacy designation, is only available to communities within Smart Growth Priority Funding Areas. The designation offers property tax credits for the renovation of certain buildings that create live-work space for artists and/or space for arts and entertainment enterprises, an income tax subtraction modification for income derived from artistic work sold by qualifying residing artists, an exemption from the Admissions and Amusement tax levied by an arts and entertainment enterprise, or, qualifying residing artist in a district.<sup>132</sup> According to Glendening, "these areas will also further the goals of Smart Growth by encouraging neighborhood revitalization and improving the

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<sup>130</sup> Daniel Sams, Administrator of Federal and State Rehabilitation Tax Incentives, Maryland Historical Trust Data <DSams@mdp.state.md.us> "RE: Thesis Assistance," 5 March 2007, personal email (5 March 2007).

<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

<sup>132</sup> Maryland State Arts Council, "Arts and Entertainment District Program," 2007, <<http://www.msac.org/programs.cfm?sec=Programs&id=232>> (15 February 2007).

attractiveness and safety in the area.”<sup>133</sup> The Maryland State Arts Council webpage further claims that, “Arts and Entertainment Districts will further the goals of Smart Growth by locating within a Priority Funding Area and by carefully coordinating with local plans and policies for economic development.”<sup>134</sup>

The Gateway Arts and Entertainment District, comprising the Mount Ranier, Brentwood and Hyattsville areas was one of the first four Arts and Entertainment Districts, designated in December 2001. Hyattsville had been attractive to artists for some time,<sup>135</sup> but by taking advantage of the state designation, it has been able to bring in over \$70 million in government subsidies for art-related development.<sup>136</sup> The M-NCPPC staff, for the two years following the late-2001 designation, involved the public in a series of charrettes and workshops to develop a preliminary sector plan and proposed sector map amendment for the Arts and Entertainment District. On June 6, 2002, the Hyattsville Reporter Inaugural Edition was released, inviting readers to submit their old photos of Route One to be used as part of a design charrette for the newly inaugurated Gateway Arts District. The paper urged readers:

Your participation is key in the development of a community image album that will answer three questions: 1) What was US 1 like in its hey day? 2) What are the aspects of the community you wish to preserve, recreate if they have been lost,

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<sup>133</sup> Noelle Backer, “The Arts and Economic Incentives: Municipal State Programs that Support Artists,” *Art Calendar* 16, no. 8 (2002): 13-4, 19-22.

<sup>134</sup> Maryland State Arts Council, “Arts and Entertainment District Program.”

<sup>135</sup> Stuart Eisenberg, personal communication, 1 March 2007.

<sup>136</sup> Williams, “Reclaiming Lost Ground”

or celebrate as they are today? 3) What aspects of the community do you wish to improve, enhance and revitalize?<sup>137</sup>

By November 2004, the plan and map amendments, together with the comprehensive rezoning, were approved.

Hoping to attract investors with the possibility of utilizing the tax credits available within Arts and Entertainment Districts, in January of 2004, the city released a Request for Proposals (“RFP”) from development firms for the redevelopment of a 1.7 acre property at 4307 Jefferson Street.<sup>138</sup> The city awarded the opportunity to purchase and redevelop the municipally-owned site to the Housing Initiative Partnership (“HIP”), a non-profit specializing in workforce housing. A collaboration of HIP, the city, and for-profit partners, the \$35 million redevelopment called Renaissance Square will have a 44-unit apartment building for low- and moderate-income artists, condominiums, and a 25,000 square foot YMCA. Resident artists will get subsidized housing and, in return, agree to volunteer ten hours weekly teaching children about art.<sup>139</sup> The site, approximately 73,790 square feet is one block west of Route One in the city’s original downtown and adjacent to the historic district. The HIP proposal called for the demolition of an existing structure, the Old Municipal Building, constructed in 1960 and vacant since 1999 (Ill. 20). An informal early 2005 survey conducted on the Hyattsville Historic Preservation

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<sup>137</sup> The City of Hyattsville, “Four Towns One Arts District—Just Picture It,” *The Hyattsville Reporter*, Inaugural Sample Edition, 6 June 2002, <[http://www.hyattsville.org/images/hy/2002/hyr\\_2002-06-06.pdf](http://www.hyattsville.org/images/hy/2002/hyr_2002-06-06.pdf)> (15 January 2007).

<sup>138</sup> City of Hyattsville, “4307 Jefferson Street,” Request for Proposals. n.d. <<http://www.hyattsville.org/roster/view.cfm?RID=17>> (19 November 2006).

<sup>139</sup> Johnson, “A Haven Grows in Hyattsville.”

listserv and Planning Committee listerv (obviously self-selecting groups) placed the building last in a ranking of seven Hyattsville properties that respondents were interested in seeing preserved.<sup>140</sup> The project is being created with immense state support.

In 2005, encouraged by the incentives offered by the Arts District, Virginia developer, Eaken/Youngentaub Associates (“EYA”) submitted a preliminary plan to the M-NCPPC proposing the redevelopment of Hyattsville’s Route One. The proposal included the phased development of 500 row houses and condominiums, along with live/work units and retail space (Ill. 21). The plan involved razing the Lustine Showroom, a 1950 moderne building on Route One (Ill.s 23-23). In 1950, Philip Lustine, the owner since 1926 of a Chevrolet dealership in southeast Washington, D.C., moved his business to a newly-constructed showroom in Hyattsville, calling it the Lustine-Nicholson Motor Company Showroom. The building featured a double-curved facade that, according to University of Maryland Architecture Professor, Isabelle Gournay, made it the most modern-looking commercial building in the county.<sup>141</sup> The dealership played an integral role in turning the surrounding area into a transportation corridor, which had already begun to take shape as early as 1908, when cars were being built in Hyattsville and were later sold in converted stables. Other dealerships came to the area as well, but no other structures have survived unchanged (besides a bit of graffiti) save the Lustine Showroom.

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<sup>140</sup> Chris Currie, <the.curries@verizon.net> “Planning Committee,” 22 February 2005, <hyattsplanning@yahoogroups.com> (4 March 2007).

<sup>141</sup> University of Maryland, “Preserving the Past to Help the Future,” *Outlook Online*, 7 March 2005, <<http://www.outlook.umd.edu/article.cfm?id=1824>> (15 February 2007).

By 2005, when EYA had submitted its proposal for the site's demolition, approximately two-thirds to three-quarters of the automobile-related buildings along Hyattsville's portion of Route One were already demolished.<sup>142</sup> HyCDC and some vocal city residents fought to convince the developer to alter the plans in order to integrate the Showroom into the new development. Although Eisenberg surmises that the adaptation and rehabilitation of the structure for use as a community center, fitness center, and art gallery cost EYA 60 percent more than originally expected, EYA eventually came to embrace the idea of incorporating the community landmark into their plans. The developer chose not to utilize a rehabilitation tax credit for the project in order to avoid having to comply with the Secretary of Interior's Standards. Less complaints were elicited regarding the demolition of the Lustine Collision Center; the structure has already been demolished to make way for the new development (Ill. 24).

HyCDC has made revitalization of Hyattsville's Route One a priority. The driving idea, according to Executive Director Stuart Eisenberg, is to "create a downtown core that [Hyattsville] might have had, had it not become a core for automobile repairs." He describes the alternative fate that befell the downtown during the era when so many suburban communities were becoming "strip mall clones of one another": instead of becoming a strip mall Route One, Hyattsville became an automotive Route One. Aakash Thakkar, the EYA executive in charge of the development project, called Arts District

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<sup>142</sup> Stuart Eisenberg, personal communication, 1 March 2007.



Hyattsville, echoes Eisenberg's desire to create a main street for Hyattsville with character:

We didn't want Old Town Alexandria, we didn't want D.C, we wanted something unique to Hyattsville . . . . As Silver Spring's rents climb with all the development, people are getting priced out. People can't afford the exorbitant prices on U Street. We believe we're really an alternative.<sup>143</sup>

The efforts thus far of HyCDC to maintain the character of Route One are promising.

One project, three blocks south of EYA's Garth Rockcastle, Dean of the School of Architecture at the University of Maryland (and, not coincidentally, author of *Creating Space: A Guide to Real Estate Development for Artists*) is rehabilitating the early nineteenth century Machen Building. Since its construction, the commercial space was used first as a print shop and duplicating center and then as office space for various members of the Machen family, including an attorney, an accountant, a congressman and a surveyor. Rockcastle bought the 5,000 square-foot, two-story brick building for \$350,000 (which included the third of an acre land that the building sits on, an old garage).<sup>144</sup> Rockcastle hopes to use the two ground floor storefronts as office space, for the East Coast branch of his Minneapolis architecture firm, Meyer, Scherer & Rockcastle, using the outer walls as gallery space, and to create art studio space, and living space upstairs.<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> Barbara Ruben, "In Hyattsville, A Creative Impulse," *Washington Post*, December 9, 2006. F01.

<sup>144</sup> Johnson, "A Haven Grows in Hyattsville."

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

The EYA proposal, including the Lustine Showroom rehabilitation, the development of the surrounding property, and a \$35 million redevelopment of the hiker/biker trail (funded partly by EYA), in addition to the HIP Renaissance Square project, garnered attention from the state, earning Hyattsville a place in the Smart Growth Priority Places program in 2005. According to a Maryland Department of Planning publication:

Governor Robert L. Ehrlich, Jr., launched the Priority Places initiative to help local communities and developers achieve smart growth by designating outstanding development projects and plans for heightened state assistance and attention. The idea is that the State can play a major role in helping these proposals succeed, spurring broader development trends that will strengthen economic growth and improve quality of life. The goal of Priority Places is to increase people's choices for where and how they live and how they get around, and to create a healthy economic climate by providing opportunities for businesses to flourish and people to work.<sup>146</sup>

All Priority Places must be located within designated Priority Funding Areas, the strategy being to encourage well-planned development within Priority Funding Areas. A subcommittee in the governor's Subcabinet on Smart Growth helps to develop a comprehensive plan for the Priority Place that utilizes the powers of all relevant state agencies. The plan is formalized in a Memorandum of Understanding outlining the expectations of the designee and the commitment of various state agencies to provide assistance. Similar to the Community Legacy Program created under Governor Glendening, the Priority Places Program, created under Governor Ehrlich, seeks to support local governments in planning and coordinating their efforts. Ehrlich explained

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<sup>146</sup> Maryland Department of Planning, "Priority Places Brochure," Baltimore: Maryland Department of Planning, n.d., available at [www.priorityplaces.com](http://www.priorityplaces.com).

the decision to designate Hyattsville a Priority Place: “We're protecting the investment you have made in this historic town,” he declared.<sup>147</sup>

Hyattsville’s ongoing reawakening has been deliberate, partly the result of concerted efforts by the local government and long-time citizens to turn around the city’s image and make the area more attractive to investors. On October 16, 2006 the city adopted a new logo, which mixes historic buildings and new construction (Ill. 25), and a new slogan: “A World Within Walking Distance” to replace the old logo and the old slogan: “Hyattsville, a Good Place to Live.” According to the *Hyattsville Reporter*, “the design shows dynamic progression from old and historic to new and modern, from suburban to urban, and from East Hyattsville to West Hyattsville.”<sup>148</sup>

## Conclusions

Hyattsville is clearly undergoing a profound change: a city that spent nearly three decades with very little new investment is now juggling plans for multiple multi-million- and billion-dollar developments. Although Hyattsville had begun taking tentative steps toward rejuvenation before Smart Growth’s 1997 legislation, the city did not begin to develop its momentum until a few years after, in the early twenty-first century. The city has been singled out by proponents of Smart Growth as one of the movement’s success

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<sup>147</sup> Corina E. Rivera, “State classifies Hyattsville projects as priority,” *Gazette.net*, 28 April 2005, <[http://www.gazette.net/gazette\\_archive/2005b/200517/porttowns/news/272468-1.html](http://www.gazette.net/gazette_archive/2005b/200517/porttowns/news/272468-1.html)> (15 November 2006).

<sup>148</sup> City of Hyattsville, “Revised Hyattsville Logo Design, New Slogan Unveiled,” *Hyattsville Reporter* 105, 27 September 2006 <[http://www.hyattsville.org/images/hy/2002/hyr\\_2006-09-27.pdf](http://www.hyattsville.org/images/hy/2002/hyr_2006-09-27.pdf)> (10 December 2006).

stories, and while Smart Growth-related programs have clearly helped fund local organization efforts and have drawn new investment to Hyattsville, the redefinition and revitalization of Hyattsville does not appear to be the work of Smart Growth alone, but rather a combination of state and county policies, changing market forces and strategic local leaders and active residents. The changes in Hyattsville have created, for the most part, increased opportunities for historic preservation, and, although still not fully developed, plans for Hyattsville appear to address historic fabric and Hyattsville's historic legacy with sensitivity.

The 2001 designation of Hyattsville as a Community Legacy Area, considered a Smart Growth incentive although not part of the original 1997 package, has earned the city five separate state funding grants, making possible the expansion of the historic district and the development of the Community Revitalization Plan, among other projects. In this way, Smart Growth, or at least one of its programs, did help Hyattsville make itself more attractive to private investment by increasing the number of buildings permitted to utilize historic tax credits and by facilitating the type of local organization that has been instrumental in changing Hyattsville's fate.

While the Community Legacy funds did bestow tangible and necessary benefits to Hyattsville, the 2005 designation of the city as a Priority Place suggests an attempt by state officials to merely draw attention to local change and ensure that Smart Growth's fingerprints are visible on successful projects in areas experiencing renewed investment. The idea that in 2005 Hyattsville still needed state funds to "spark broad-based

development”<sup>149</sup> seems insincere, as development in the area had been picking up speed for nearly a decade at that point. It should be noted, however, that a substantial element in Hyattsville’s transformation has been its ability to overcome past negative perceptions and construct a new identity for itself. As Eisenberg noted, perceptions of out-of-control crime and the belief that local politicians were either corrupt or inept kept many investors away in the past.<sup>150</sup> Changes in local leadership were able to make investors feel more secure with putting their money into Hyattsville and, aware of this, local leaders devoted more resources into improving the city’s reputation and into marketing efforts (such as the new logo and slogan). As a marketing tool, therefore, Priority Places piggy-backed off of identity-shaping efforts, continuing to ensure that outsiders (and potential investors) considered Hyattsville to be desirable.

The 2001 designation of the Gateway Arts and Entertainment District is also a significant Smart-Growth-related tool that is changing the face of Hyattsville. Headed by the M-NCPPC, the application for Arts and Entertainment designation was an effort of multiple local and county participants, completed with extensive citizen involvement. The tax perks offered by the state to developers drew in proposals for two massive projects, Renaissance Square and Arts District Hyattsville, which have the potential to act as anchors to attract increasing numbers of smaller-scale revitalization of the older commercial structures along Route One. The combination of actors working together to

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<sup>149</sup> Maryland Department of Planning, “An Overview of Priority Places,” 2004, <<http://www.priorityplaces.com/>> (15 January 2007).

<sup>150</sup> Stuart Eisenberg, personal communication, 1 March 2007.

bring Arts and Entertainment designation to the area is an example of Councilman Shapiro's belief that "[i]t takes a comprehensive, multi-stakeholder effort to redevelop older communities like this one. In the right places at the right time, the government infusion works."<sup>151</sup>

While state incentives have created the possibility and financial feasibility of new projects in Hyattsville, local leadership, whether from City Council, from HyCDC, or from local business people like Herschel Blumberg and Mike Franklin has been the driving organizational force behind Hyattsville's changes. Despite Prince George's County's control of zoning and other land use matters, it has been the city issuing Requests for Proposals, applying for Community Development Funding, negotiating redevelopment of the West Hyattsville Metro area, developing a strategy for filling vacant buildings along Route One, lobbying for the incorporation of the Lustine Showroom into the EYA plans, and expanding the historic district.

Neither the actions of the city nor those of the state took place in a vacuum: many of the projects in Hyattsville could not have been feasible without market changes throughout Prince George's County and the whole metropolitan area. Escalating real estate prices in Washington made Hyattsville more and more attractive to investors looking for the next best place to entice potential residents. WMATA's recently-completed Metrorail stations make commuting from Washington easier than before. To a certain degree, Hyattsville's

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<sup>151</sup> Williams, "Reclaiming Lost Ground."

increasing property values are also mirroring rises throughout all of Prince George's County over the past ten years.<sup>152</sup>

The reawakening of Hyattsville as a flourishing Washington, DC suburb cannot be attributed to any one incentive or player. Hyattsville's success has stemmed from the ability of local leaders to recognize and act within fortuitous regulatory and economic conditions, conditions created by the changing Washington, D.C. and Prince George's County real estate markets and by state Smart Growth policies. While Smart Growth policies acting within the market along without strong local efforts would likely have resulted in some new investment in the city, local leadership has been instrumental in setting the tone and pace of redevelopment. That tone and pace seem to be working toward a well-planned compromise of new development, historic preservation, retention of existing residents, and new business. Local efforts are making Hyattsville an urban area where people now choose to live and work, as opposed to a place filled with residents, who, "ended up in Hyattsville because they couldn't afford Takoma Park," as Mayor Gardiner characterized the city's residents.<sup>153</sup> However, success also inevitably raises the possibility that Hyattsville residents will end up having to move somewhere

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<sup>152</sup> Prince George's County's property tax assessments in 2006 reflected an average rise of 27 percent a year over the past three years, the second highest assessment increase of Maryland's counties. According to James P. Soresi, assessments supervisor for Prince George's County in the Maryland Department of Assessments and Taxation, "[t]he whole thing is a direct result of the type of building and shopping facilities that the county has been creating . . . . It's making it a desirable place to live for people, and they're moving here." The county's increase was much higher than that of the rest of the state, which was 19 percent. Judson Berger, "County's Property Values Have Risen 26.5 Percent per Year Over Past Three Years," *Gazette.net*, 29 December, 2006, [http://www.gazette.net/stories/122906/princou160454\\_32009.shtml](http://www.gazette.net/stories/122906/princou160454_32009.shtml) (20 January, 2007).

<sup>153</sup> Johnson, "A Haven Grows in Hyattsville."

else, when Hyattsville becomes just as unaffordable as Takoma Park was. Importantly, Hyattsville's high homeownership rates mean that as property values rise, so do residents' wealth, and while increased property values are always a concern, Prince George's County Tax Reform Initiative by Marylanders ("TRIM"), does limit the rate of property taxes in the county, which could help curb the threat of displaced residents to a certain degree.<sup>154</sup> In addition to TRIM restrictions, a Maryland Homestead Credit requires every county and Baltimore City to limit taxable assessment increases on the primary residence of the homeowners to ten percent or less each year.<sup>155</sup> The inclusion of a substantial amount of affordable and artist housing will also mitigate the threat of yuppification and displacement.

Growth in Hyattsville also means that the character of the city is changing. A Hyattsville realtor, Greg Tindale has noticed some negative reactions from long-term residents, people that have lived in the area for 30 and 40 years, who worry that the small town feel of Hyattsville will be lost when the projected 8,000-9,000 new beds are filled. It does seem clear that an influx of residents and businesses will alter Hyattsville's sleepy, forgotten feel, but most local leaders and many residents would likely consider that a good thing. Given the layout of the city, with much of the new development and

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<sup>154</sup> Property owners in Prince George's County pay \$1.319 per \$100 of assessed value in property taxes, one of the highest rates in the state, but the county's share, which funds basic services such as schools and public safety, has been capped at 96 cents per \$100 of assessed value since 1978. The balance goes to the M-NCPPC, the Washington Suburban Transit Commission and other regional services. Ovetta Wiggins, "Johnson Capitulates on Tax Cap," *Washington Post*, 19 April 2005, B01.

<sup>155</sup> Maryland State Departments of Assessments and Taxation, "The Homestead Credit," 28 December 2006, <<http://www.dat.state.md.us/sdatweb/homestead.html>> (8 March 2007).



revitalization efforts focused on Route One and near the metro stations, the main force of change for the historic residential core will continue to be private, owner-driven rehabilitation efforts. Mike Franklin has predicted that “the people [in the new developments] really won't feel like they live in Hyattsville. Their center of gravity will be different” than residents of the original housing stock.<sup>156</sup>

The other nucleus of Hyattsville’s historic structures, Route One, whose vacant commercial space, scattered rehabilitations, and large-scale EYA and HIP redevelopment testify to Hyattsville’s evolving role in the metropolitan area, promises to be much more directly affected by Smart Growth-related changes. HyCDC’s goal to rehabilitate Route One as a main street, focusing on new restaurants as potential new businesses for rehabilitated historic structures, offers the possibility of incorporating Hyattsville’s past into its rejuvenated present. Although the Lustine Showroom will be rehabilitated (although not according to the Secretary of Interiors Standards, therefore, the sensitivity of the final product remains unknown), the Collision Center has already been torn down to make way for the mixed use development, and while the proper incentives and local leadership exist to ensure responsible historic reuse of Route One’s structures, it will be important for the city to remain focused on the value that historic structures bring to Hyattsville, as proposals for rehabilitations or redevelopment continue to come in.

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<sup>156</sup> Ruben, “Creative Impulse.”

Just as changing regional transportation trends in the early- and mid-twentieth century changed the fate of Hyattsville and transformed its physical shape, so too a changing metropolitan real estate market and the possibilities offered by new Metrorail stations created an opportunity for the city at the end of the twentieth century. Recognizing the potential for success, local leaders were able to harness the support of the state by appealing to Smart Growth principles in their plans. Historic preservation within the residential core promises to increase as homes that were not previously included in the historic district are now eligible for rehabilitation tax credits, and Route One shows signs of becoming a case of the successful commingling of Smart Growth tools and strong local identity. It is likely that without state Smart Growth policies Hyattsville would still have experienced renewed investment; however, it is not likely that the development would have been carried out as deliberately, with as much attention to principles such as walkability, mixing uses, rehabilitation of existing structures, and affordability.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: RESERVOIR HILL CASE STUDY**

### **Introduction**

Reservoir Hill is a 32-block area in the center of Baltimore City, about one mile north of Penn Station (Ill. 26). It is bordered to the north by Druid Park Lake Drive, to the west by McCulloh Street, to the east by Mount Royal Terrace, and to the south by North Avenue (Ill. 27). The neighborhood, once a thriving residential community of wealthy Jewish industrialists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, fell into grave disrepair and poverty during the mid and late twentieth century. Today, although the area has seen increased interest, partly due to homesteading efforts and partly due to ongoing land speculation, the neighborhood still struggles with problems such as poverty, vacancies, crime, and poor sanitation.

Reservoir Hill contains one of the most eclectic collections of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century vernacular architecture in Baltimore. The neighborhood is home to free standing houses in the Victorian and Queen Anne styles, Italianate row houses, Renaissance Revival apartment buildings, and two synagogues, a church and a former streetcar barn. The character of the neighborhood is the result of a balance of styles, the larger homes around the edge of the neighborhood along Eutaw Place and Mount Royal Terrace and the blocks of more modest row homes in the interior.

According to information from Baltimore City's Neighborhood Profiles, created from U.S. Census statistics gathered in 2000, the Reservoir Hill neighborhood had a total

population of 6,901, 6.5 percent of which was white, 91 percent of which was black, 0.6 percent of which was Latino, 0.3 percent of which was Asian, and 0.2 percent of which was some other race. Of 4,091 total housing units, 3,070 were occupied (a 24 percent vacancy rate), 24 percent of which were owner-occupied, and 76 percent of which were renter occupied. The median household income in 1999 was \$22,345; 28 percent of families and 34 percent of individuals were below the poverty line. Thirty-two percent of the population ages 25-64 was reported to hold a high school degree only, and 38 percent was reported to have had some college.<sup>157</sup>

## History

At the time of Maryland's colonization in the 1680s, today's Reservoir Hill was virtually untouched by development and remained so through the seventeenth and most of the eighteenth centuries, as Baltimore Town was taking shape along the harbor. In the late 1770s, Charles Carroll, Maryland's representative to the Continental Congress and one of the signatories of the Declaration of Independence, bought a 1,000 acre parcel of land north of Baltimore Town, including all of present day Reservoir Hill.

Carroll built a summer retreat on his land, known as Mount Royal, at the top of a hill where today's Park Avenue and Reservoir Streets meet, a mansion in the Queen Anne style surrounded by a large swathe of rural land (Ill. 28). The hilltop lake in the

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<sup>157</sup> Baltimore City Department of Planning, "Neighborhood Statistical Areas: Profile of General Demographic Characteristics: 2000: Reservoir Hill," n.d., <<http://www.ubalt.edu/bnia/mapping/CensusProfiles/Reservoir%20Hill%20Demographic%20Profile.pdf>> (10 October 2006).

southwest corner of the estate (today, the location of Jones Fall expressway) attracted visitors to Mount Royal who came to admire the view of the entire city that the spot offered. In 1789, Carroll sold a portion of his estate to Dr. Solomon Birkhead, a well-to-do Quaker, and his wife, Jane McCulloh, to use as a summer retreat. In the early 1800s, Birkhead carved out and sold off lots surrounding the Mount Royal mansion to other wealthy Baltimoreans who also used their land to construct country homes. Some such moneyed Mount Royal landowners included G.W. Gayle, a successful tobacco farmer, Charles and Walter Brooks, prosperous dry goods wholesalers, Enoch Pratt Carroll, and Robert Whitelock. Aside from the scattered country homes, the area was still rural during this time, remaining so through the Civil War.

Dr. Birkhead's estate eventually passed on to his daughter, Christina, and then to her son, Hugh Bond. Bond was the leader of the American Party (also known as the "Know-Nothing Party") in Baltimore, a supporter of the emancipation of black slaves, and an organizer of the first black public schools in Baltimore. He donated to the city half of the land that would become today's Mount Royal Terrace and Druid Hill Reservoir. An indication of the affection many Mount Royal residents had for Bond, Carroll's mansion was renamed the Bond House in homage to Hugh and his family.

During the 1840s and 1850s, as Baltimore's northern boundaries began creeping upward, more wealthy families were drawn to the area as a location for year-round houses and constructed many large three- and four-story homes and sponsored the erection of large, expensive churches. In the mid-1800s, Baltimore municipal works projects changed

Mount Royal further: land annexation resulted in the conversion of Druid Lake and Mount Royal Lake into reservoirs, Jones Falls became utilized as a municipal water source, and many streets were constructed or widened. A streetcar line was extended to take passengers from central Baltimore to Mount Royal, and an early 1870s agreement between the Park Commission and the Citizens Passenger Railway extended the railway to the Park, allowing easy travel to and from downtown Baltimore.

In approximately 1860, Lloyd Rogers, the wealthy owner of a parcel of land to the northwest of Mount Royal, sold to the city a portion of his property. The property, now known as Druid Hill Park, had already been landscaped as a private garden and contained a huge lake (today's Druid Hill Reservoir). The park attracted visitors, many brought right up to the gates by one of the four streetcar lines that stopped there (Ill.s 29 and 30). Baltimoreans strolled around the lake, rented carriages to carry them through the park's many paths, and picnicked in the nine picnic groves (Ill. 31). The highest point in the park, 360 feet above sea level, was called Reservoir Hill, and from there visitors could look out to see the whole Baltimore City stretched out below them.

During the late 1800s and early 1900s, Baltimore evolved from a port city into a commercial and industrial center, and as the city grew in wealth and population, successful businessmen moved their families farther and farther uptown in an effort to put some privileged distance between themselves and the busy city. An 1888 Baltimore ordinance catalyzed development in Mount Royal, spurring what had been construction on an individual level into rapid, increasingly developer-driven development: all property

annexed to the city was allowed to be taxed at the 1888 rate for twelve years. This new generation of late nineteenth-century Mount Royal homeowners comprised many wealthy businessmen, often German Jewish merchants and industrialists such as the Blausteins, Hechts, Hochschilds, Henflers, and Hamburgers, who constructed large and elaborate homes along Eutaw Place. In his book *Jewish Baltimore*, Gilbert Sandler writes:

Newcomers were of the merchant and professional class, families who had enjoyed economic success and were now moving out of East and West Baltimore and up the ladder of the American dream. By the turn of the century the Jewish families whose standing and wealth created the aura of elegance associated with a Eutaw Place address were well ensconced there.<sup>158</sup>

The houses built by these industrialists were unlike the practical rowhouses being constructed elsewhere in the city at the time. Although built side-by-side in rows like their working-class counterparts, the houses built in Mount Royal during this time reflected the newly acquired wealth of their owners (Ill. 32). According to Ryon's account:

Blocks contained broad twenty-two-foot houses, three to four stories high, not narrow, gable-topped houses of one or one-and-one-half stories. [H]omes here were bedecked with ornate streetfront exteriors. Showy cornices projected from stylish mansard roofs, and fancy and expensive terra cotta facing covered streetfront facades. Exterior stairways held stone balusters. To exude a sense of grandeur even in blocks of row homes, massive, rough-hewn, stone-covered bases of the edifices and rounded arches surrounded entryways. Gates and walls were made of brick.<sup>159</sup>

By 1896 almost all of Birckhead's original estate was developed, with the grander, more expensive homes on Madison Avenue and Eutaw Place and the more modest homes,

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<sup>158</sup> Eileen Murphy, "A City on a Hill: How One Neighborhood Reflects the Challenges of Baltimore Life," *City Paper*, 16 May 2001, available at <http://www.citypaper.com/news/story.asp?id=3500>.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid.

some developed by wealthy Jewish businessmen in an effort to offer housing for their employees, at the interior. One notable resident, Gertrude Stein, lived in the area from 1897 to 1901 while attending Johns Hopkins University.<sup>160</sup>

In the early part of the twentieth century, as World War I efforts enticed more and more workers to Baltimore to find work in the booming defense industry, housing pressures increased in the city and Mount Royal. Many of the larger town houses which had been built as single family residences were divided into apartments, and five expensive mid-rise apartment buildings were built in Mount Royal. The Esplanade (built in 1912), the Riviera (built in 1914), the Emersonian (built in 1915), the Cylburn Court Apartments (built in 1921), and Temple Gardens (built in 1926) were quite modern for their time, most equipped with electricity and refrigeration. Temple Gardens was, at 14 stories, the tallest building in Baltimore when it was built. Despite the luxury of the new apartments, more and more residents filling up the area led to crowded conditions and strained infrastructure and services.

The neighborhood struggled to maintain its once-elegant character, continuing its aesthetic decline into the 1940s, prompting concerned residents to form the Mount Royal Neighborhood Improvement Association. The group sponsored clean block awards and garden shows and tried to dissuade property owners from selling their properties to

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<sup>160</sup> Gertrude Stein lived at 2408 Linden Avenue, an Italianate house that is now boarded up. Antero Pietila, "Changes Pervade Area on Rebound," *Baltimore Sun*, 1 June 2004, available at [http://www.abagmd.org/info-url2446/info-url\\_show.htm?doc\\_id=227373](http://www.abagmd.org/info-url2446/info-url_show.htm?doc_id=227373).



speculators who would subdivide the old buildings and sell or rent the smaller apartments to so-called “undesirables.” The Association was also responsible for filling in and seeding the Mount Royal reservoir.

Despite the efforts of the Mount Royal Neighborhood Association, with the advent of World War II, more and more factory workers crowded into Baltimore, creating conditions too lucrative for speculators to be prevented from subdividing and renting town houses to whomever would pay the rent. Often new units were sold or rented without adequate rehabilitation or maintenance, leading to further deteriorating conditions in Mount Royal. Ryon describes the transformation: “[r]ow homes were converted into flats, sometimes several apartments on a floor, with ceilings lowered and floors linoleumed. Housing codes allowed six apartments within a standard three-story row house, eight and nine households sharing single three-story row homes.”<sup>161</sup> The wealthy Jewish population began to be replaced by working-class white families, and the gradual identity shift away from a wealthy Jewish enclave and toward a working class community picked up momentum with the help of a 1948 crime wave which drove many of the wealthier residents away.

The changing conditions in Mount Royal and throughout the country through the 1950s led to waves of middle-class flight to other urban neighborhoods and mostly newer, more spacious suburbs, resulting in plunging home-ownership rates and growing numbers of

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<sup>161</sup> Murphy, “City on a Hill.”

absentee landlords. Mount Royal demographics also shifted along racial lines in the middle of the twentieth century as Mount Royal followed the national trend that saw working class white families move away from downtown, replaced by a predominantly African American population. According to a 1979 *Baltimore Sun* article, “[m]any residents, mostly black, were pushed out of rented apartments and houses in Bolton Hill during the fifties and sixties to relocate in crowded apartments above North Avenue in Reservoir Hill.”<sup>162</sup> The riots following the assassination of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. in 1968 were particularly violent along Whitelock and North Streets, and Druid Hill Park served as an staging area for the National Guard. A series of oral interviews, conducted in the fall of 2006 and spring of 2007 by students in a University of Baltimore History class shed light on the profound change that the neighborhood was experiencing at the time.<sup>163</sup> Rosalind Terrell, a black single mother in her twenties living at Whitelock and Brookfield Streets at the time described her experience in 1968:

At that time there were mainly whites that owned those businesses in our neighborhoods. So it was like a lashing out at them so to speak. . . . Everything along that block of Whitelock Street was completely destroyed. Every business during [sic] that block was completely destroyed. So yeah, buying food and that kind of thing was difficult during that time. . . . North Avenue, right there below where I live, between Eutaw and I guess Park Avenue, that was a shopping area. There were restaurants there. I think there was a bite there. All of that, that stuff was gone. . . . [After the riots,] it was like three or four weeks before, maybe three or four weeks before they started boarding up and sweeping up the glass and cleaning up the streets and I’m quite sure that my neighborhood was not a priority kind of thing.

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<sup>162</sup> Ibid.

<sup>163</sup> Rosalind Terrell, interview by Jerome Denilein, *Baltimore '68 Riots and Rebirth Collection*, Langsdale Library, University of Baltimore, 2007, available at <http://archives.ubalt.edu/bsr/table.htm>.

Another perspective recorded by the project was that of Ida Pats and her two daughters, Betty Pats Katznelson and Sharon Pats Singer, who owned Downes Brothers Pharmacy in the 800 Block of North Avenue. Singer, born in 1950, the same year her parents bought the store, describes the area as “white” at the time. As years went on, she says, the neighborhood become more and more mixed. After the riots, she says:

**Sharon Singer:** . . . [t]he city just completely turned their backs on all this. You know, they weren’t responsible. They weren’t this, they weren’t that. We weren’t entitled to anything.

**Betty Katznelson:** But it is amazing how it could change so quickly. Because, like Sharon was saying, before that [the neighborhood] was fine and it was fun, and it was positive, and you weren’t scared to walk around. You could just walk through the store and just walk up and down the street. It was never the sense of, “Oh my God! What are we doing here? Everybody else went out to the suburbs!” . . . .

**Sharon Singer:** But we never thought of it that way because we were part of the community.

**Betty Katznelson:** But to go from it being just fine and walking around and doing what ever you were doing, to suddenly— Boom, it’s gone and everybody is running and bleeding and burning.<sup>164</sup>

The 1970s and 1980s saw some change for the area, which had become a predominantly African-American, poor, inner-city neighborhood with an aged housing stock owned mostly by absentee landlords. A 1972 plan designated the area an urban renewal zone, drawing what many considered an arbitrary boundary around a collection of blocks, naming the area Reservoir Hill. A Reservoir Hill Urban Renewal Plan was developed to

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<sup>164</sup> Sharon Pats Singer, Ida Pats, Betty Pats Katznelson, interview by Valerie Wiggins, *Baltimore '68 Riots and Rebirth Collection*, Langsdale Library, University of Baltimore, 20 February 2007, available at <http://archives.ubalt.edu/bsr/table.htm>.

help guide efforts, and federal money was directed at physical development and affordable housing-driven projects.<sup>165</sup>

One of the renewal programs aimed at Reservoir Hill in the 1970s was the city-sponsored Dollar House Program, which offered vacant homes in exchange for one dollar and a promise to renovate and live in the home for at least two years. Urban renewal programs such as these were marginally successful in the short term, resulting in what some termed a “homesteading” boom of middle-class homebuyers.<sup>166</sup> While some of the statelier homes on the western and eastern edges of the neighborhood (Madison Avenue and Mount Royal Terrace, respectively) were successfully restored, the interior of the neighborhood experienced no such lasting revitalization. The complexity and expense of rehabilitating the large houses, the lack of support from the city, and the unflaggingly constant crime and trash problems prompted most of these urban pioneers to abandon Reservoir Hill: “A lot of people left after five years,” one resident, Mary Jane O'Brien, noted in a 2001 *Baltimore Sun* article.<sup>167</sup> In the 1980s, waning enthusiasm for the back-to-the-city movement, federal funding cuts for low-interest mortgages, and Mayor Schaefer's replacement by Kurt Schmoke (whose administration, as perceived by some

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<sup>165</sup> Reservoir Hill H.O.P.E., *Reservoir Hill: Strengthening the Bonds of Community to Create Neighborhoods of Choice – An Action Strategy for Change 2002-2007*, n.d., available at [www.reservoirhill.net/publications/docs/ReservoirHillHOPEPlan.doc](http://www.reservoirhill.net/publications/docs/ReservoirHillHOPEPlan.doc).

<sup>166</sup> Anna Ditkoff, “On the Block,” *City Paper Online*, 8 October 2003, <<http://www.citypaper.com/news/story.asp?id=4657>> (5 March 2007).

<sup>167</sup> Murphy, “City on a Hill.”

residents, such as O'Brien, "didn't worry much about neighborhoods,"<sup>168</sup> quelled rehabilitation of the neighborhood. The 1980s' proliferation of crack cocaine in inner-cities across America also hit Reservoir Hill hard, creating an entirely new and more violent culture in the neighborhood.<sup>169</sup>

In 1994, Baltimore City demolished the only commercial strip in the neighborhood, the 900 block of Whitelock Street, which had devolved into one of Baltimore's largest and most well-known drug markets, leaving an empty lot in the center of Reservoir Hill where the decrepit commercial buildings once stood.<sup>170</sup> Schmoke called the August 1994 demolition of the properties "the first step toward building something positive in Reservoir Hill."<sup>171</sup> The block remains vacant 13 years later, home to a fenced-off community garden (Ill.s 33-34), and the drug dealers that once congregated there did not go far, finding refuge in the many vacant Reservoir Hill homes and often even in the open air on the street.

Depopulation of the neighborhood continued through the end of the century. According to a 1996 report commissioned by Reservoir Hill Housing and Outreach through Presbyterian Enterprise ("H.O.P.E."), a church-based development group, Reservoir Hill's population fell 15 percent to about 7,500 people between 1980 and 1990. This is

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<sup>168</sup> Ibid.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid.

<sup>170</sup> Eileen Murphy, "In the Struggle to Renew Reservoir Hill, Housing is the Biggest Battle Ground," *City Paper*, 7 November 2001, available at <http://www.citypaper.com/news/story.asp?id=3478>.

<sup>171</sup> Ditkoff, "On the Block."

more than twice the rate of decline for Baltimore City during that time. Between the census measurements of 1990 and 2000, Reservoir Hill lost 18.6 percent of its total population, as compared with an 11.5 percent population decrease for the whole city.<sup>172</sup> This large-scale fleeing of residents logically resulted in increased vacancies: the number of total vacant units in the neighborhood between 1990 and 2000 increased by 16.3 percent to a 24.2 percent vacancy rate. Owner occupancy rates were equally discouraging: throughout the 1990s, owner occupancy rates were much lower than in the rest of the city, 37 percent in 1995, compared with 50 percent for Baltimore,<sup>173</sup> and about 24 percent in 2000, compared with about 50 percent for the whole city.<sup>174</sup>

Property vacancies, in addition to indicating past disinvestment in Reservoir Hill, have also been a contributing factor in its continued decline. Abandoned properties offer an ideal location to drug dealers and squatters, gather trash, attract rodents, and become eyesores repelling potential new residents (Ill. 35). Poorly maintained structures can also become threats to the physical integrity of neighboring properties, undermining conscientious property owners' rehabilitation efforts.<sup>175</sup> The problem of vacancies is

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<sup>172</sup> Baltimore City Department of Planning, "Neighborhood Statistical Areas: Detailed Neighborhood Profile: Reservoir Hill," 19 September 2002, <<http://www.ci.baltimore.md.us/government/planning/census/>> (10 October 2006).

<sup>173</sup> Reservoir Hill: A Community Profile by Community Development Resource Center of Morgan State University,

<sup>174</sup> Murphy, "City on a Hill."

<sup>175</sup> A 2001 *City Paper* article tells the story of one property owner, Bradley Grant, whose own rehabilitated house was next-door to an abandoned home with severe structural problems. A hole in the abandoned house's roof grew larger, eventually causing the house to collapse in on itself. The walls of Grant's carefully restored home soon developed cracks, the heating bills grew exorbitant, and water began to enter and damage the home. Murphy, "Struggle to Renew."

exacerbated when properties are in the hands of owners who are unidentifiable or unreachable. In some cases, original property owners have died and no one has the means of reaching heirs. Other times, patient speculators have been holding onto homes in the hopes that surrounding property values will rise and give them the chance to sell for a profit. The difficulty in discovering the owners of properties dissuades interested buyers from following through and makes enforcing building codes through social pressure impossible (Ill. 36).<sup>176</sup>

Along with a thinning population, commercial resources have also disappeared from Reservoir Hill. Although 50 years ago soda fountains and hot-dog stands were scattered throughout, today there is not one commercial resource in the neighborhood. A Super Fresh grocery store in nearby Bolton Hill closed in early 2001, making it very difficult for Reservoir Hill residents without cars to buy groceries.<sup>177</sup> And while the August 1994 demolition of the stores along the 900 block of Whitelock Street did rid the neighborhood of one of the city's busiest drug markets, city officials did not follow through on their promise to revitalize the area: there was no redevelopment plan in place at the time of the demolition, and the lots remain vacant, while the neighborhood is in need of basic commercial resources. A 1996 *Reservoir Hill Revitalization Plan* recommended that the strip be redeveloped for a community building, retail, and new housing; however, the idea was rejected by city and state officials and, to date, the city-owned lots sit idle in a

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<sup>176</sup> Murphy, "Struggle to Renew."

<sup>177</sup> Murphy, "City on a Hill."

“land banked” status.<sup>178</sup> According to Sara West, Reservoir Hill Improvement Council’s Housing Coordinator, her organization has plans to conduct a series of market studies in order to determine what, if any, type of commercial outlets the neighborhood could support.<sup>179</sup> At this point it is unclear what might be successful in the neighborhood, perhaps something as simple as a convenience store, drugstore, or drycleaner.

Trash is a ubiquitous presence in the lives of Reservoir Hill residents, even prompting the RHIC to create a sanitation committee to keep the streets clean (Ill. 37). The neighborhood has been deemed a “hot zone,” one of sixteen city neighborhoods with more difficult sanitation problems, warranting extra attention and resources from the Department of Public Works’ Bureau of Solid Waste. According to Bureau of Solid Waste head, Joe Kolodziejski, Reservoir Hill has held its designation as a hot zone for the entire 30 years he has been with the department.<sup>180</sup> Despite extra efforts, illegal dumping remains a big problem, particularly for those living next to vacant houses or lots. The prevalence of untraceable owners also adds to the trash problem: because the city must secure the permission of an owner before entering property, trash is often left where it is when on property whose owners cannot be identified or contacted.<sup>181</sup> One group that

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<sup>178</sup> Reservoir Hill H.O.P.E., 7.

<sup>179</sup> Sara West, personal communication, 9 April 2007.

<sup>180</sup> Eileen Murphy, “Killer Trash: Why Reservoir Hill Can’t Take Out the Garbage,” *City Paper*, 20 June 2001, available at <http://www.citypaper.com/news/story.asp?id=3495>.

<sup>181</sup> The story of one resident, XXX Blackwell-Kelly, and her attempts to mitigate the effects of the sanitation disaster in Reservoir Hill was recorded in a June 2001 Baltimore Sun Article. “Even though she maintains her property, Blackwell-Kelly doesn’t use her backyard anymore; she had a deck built so that she can go outside without coming face to face with rats. She and her son put up shower curtains so they can sit outside without seeing the garbage in the alley. . . . A couple of summers ago, Blackwell-Kelly smelled



does not seem to mind the large collections of trash are those involved in the drug trade. According to Kolodziejski, dealers often strategically place trash to block police cars from coming down alleys in patrol cars, to hide drugs, and to act as signals that they are open for business.<sup>182</sup>

The drug trade, in addition to other types of crime, remains a major problem in Reservoir Hill. According to the Baltimore Police Department online crime mapping, in the two weeks between March 24 and April 7, 2007, there were four burglaries, seven larceny incidents, two robberies with firearms, seven aggravated assaults, and three stolen autos.<sup>183</sup> Kyle Speece of Pennrose Development, a firm that has worked in Reservoir Hill, also mentioned efforts that Pennrose has taken, simple steps such as mobile flood lights in the highest crime areas, but this has not seemed to help.<sup>184</sup>

Although since 1972 Reservoir Hill has been referred to and treated as a single neighborhood, both the physical and interpersonal structure of the area reveals that Reservoir Hill remains a collection of smaller, sometimes one-block enclaves defined by differences in architectural and demographic trends. One indication of this is the

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something bad in the alley; thanks to the sweltering weather, the stench grew worse with time. She investigated and found a dead dog in one of the adjacent yards. She called the city's Bureau of Solid Waste but was told it couldn't enter private property to retrieve the corpse without the owner's permission. Animal Control wouldn't handle a dead dog. Finally, Blackwell-Kelly paid a neighborhood man to bag the carcass and drag it into the alley, where sanitation workers picked it up with the rest of the trash." Murphy, "Killer Trash."

<sup>182</sup> Murphy, "Killer Trash."

<sup>183</sup> Baltimore Police Department, *Fighting Crime Online*, n.d., <<http://141.157.54.34/bpdmaps/>> (8 April 2007).

<sup>184</sup> Kyle Spece, Pennrose Properties, personal communication, 10 April 2007.

discrepancy among sale prices within the 32-blocks: average sale price data from between 1996 and 2001 reveals a difference of over \$85,000 between the average sale price on certain Reservoir Hill streets and others (Ill. 38).<sup>185</sup> While African-Americans remain a clear majority in Reservoir Hill as a whole, Caucasians have been concentrated almost exclusively in the Upper Eutaw-Madison corridor and in the Bolton Park and Historic Mount Royal area.<sup>186</sup> Recent homesteading campaigns have moved some white young professionals to lower blocks on Linden, Callow, and Madison Streets as well.

Race- and class-based tension, and divergent needs and experiences of longer term residents as opposed to newcomers make talking about or working with the Reservoir Hill “community” very difficult, if not impossible. There are over twenty active block clubs and citizen groups in the neighborhood, and the only group whose boundaries are coterminous with the official definitions of Reservoir Hill is the community development corporation, the Reservoir Hill Improvement Council (“RHIC”). However, even that group represents particular interests more than others: representatives of block clubs and neighborhood associations comprise its voting membership, which means that renters are only represented insofar as RHIC staff addresses their point of view on their behalf. According to its website, “the focus of RHIC is networking and providing access to resources, while patiently pulling together diverse (and traditionally, mutually suspicious)

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<sup>185</sup> Reservoir Hill H.O.P.E., 33.

<sup>186</sup> Reservoir Hill H.O.P.E., 29.

groups to work together for neighborhood interests,”<sup>187</sup> which may be the best that can be hoped for in the divided community, however, given its inability to represent a large portion of the population, it cannot be relied on as the collective voice of “the community.”

Divisions in community leadership and identity have made it very difficult for widespread changes in Reservoir Hill to gain momentum. Sara West considers managing the competing interests in the neighborhood to be the biggest challenge that the RHIC staff faces.<sup>188</sup> As an example, she says that the issue of community policing has become divisive. While many newer residents support more intensive (and at times invasive) policing efforts, long-term residents find increased police surveillance intrusive and would rather address the crime problem in other ways.

### **Reservoir Hill Context: Baltimore City**

Baltimore City is an independent city that is surrounded by, but not a part of, Baltimore County. Like many industrial central cities, Baltimore was hard hit by changes in the American economy and in lifestyle preferences in the second half of the twentieth century. From 1950 to 2000, Baltimore’s population declined from a high of 950,000 to 651,154.<sup>189</sup> During this time, the city’s economy shifted from a focus on blue collar

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<sup>187</sup> Reservoir Hill Improvement Council, *Reservoir Hill Improvement Council*, n.d., <reservoirhill.net> (15 April 2007).

<sup>188</sup> Sara West, personal communication, 9 April 2007.

<sup>189</sup> Baltimore City Department of Planning, *Baltimore City Master Plan (Final Draft)*, *Live Earn Play Learn*, adopted June 15, 2006, available at <http://www.liveearnplaylearn.com>.

manufacturing jobs to the white collar service industry. Today, Baltimore has a high concentration of jobs in the health care, technology, higher education, legal, and accounting industries,<sup>190</sup> and is home to some major employers such as Johns Hopkins Institutions, the University of Maryland Medical System, Constellation Energy, Legg Mason and T. Rowe Price.<sup>191</sup> The Port of Baltimore remains a significant operation in the city as well, generating \$1.4 billion in revenues and employing 126,700 workers.<sup>192</sup>

After a steady decline through the 1990s, Baltimore's average home sale values have recently begun to pick up: from 1999 to 2005, the average sale price of a Baltimore home rose 59 percent. This is 18 percentage points above the national average, according to real estate agent data from Metropolitan Regional Information Systems Inc.<sup>193</sup> In addition, substantial new development has occurred in the city since 2000, with approximately 6,600 new and converted housing units built between 2000 and 2005.<sup>194</sup> In 2004 alone, 21,000 residential rehabilitation permits were applied for and granted,

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<sup>190</sup> Baltimore City Department of Planning, *Baltimore Smart Growth: A Reference Guide to Baltimore City Policies that Promote Urban Livability and Sustainable Redevelopment* (Baltimore, Baltimore City Department of Planning, 2006), 12.

<sup>191</sup> Reality Check Plus, *Central Maryland Overview of Regional Trends and Issues*, (2006), 55.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid, 55

<sup>193</sup> Jamie Hopkins, "Seeing a Hopeful Change," *Baltimoresun.com*, 22 March 2005, <<http://www.baltimoresun.com/business/bal-te.bz.housingcity22mar22,1,3766905.story>> (15 December 2006).

<sup>194</sup> Baltimore City Department of Planning, *Baltimore Smart Growth*, 11.

representing an increase of approximately 25 percent from 2003 and nearly 100 percent from fiscal year 2000.<sup>195</sup>

However, this growth is not equally distributed throughout the city: conditions in the blighted east and west ends of the city for the most part remain unimproved. A Johns Hopkins University study found that average prices in two Baltimore ZIP codes dropped between 1999 and 2005, when for-sale-by-owner homes were included.<sup>196</sup> As Charlie Duff, the president of Jubilee Baltimore Inc., a nonprofit housing and community development organization, put it in a 2005 Baltimore Sun article: “[p]art of the city is on the verge of success . . . and part of it is on the verge of failure.”<sup>197</sup> In addition, while real estate and rehabilitation activities may indicate general improvements in the city, Baltimore as a whole still struggles with one of the nation's highest homicide rates, a troubled school system, and a rampant drug problem.

One indication of the influx of investment dollars into certain Baltimore neighborhoods is the extensive utilization the Maryland Rehabilitation Tax Credit in the city. Twenty-three of the 40 commercial projects and 43 of the 207 single-family home projects within Maryland that utilized the state tax credit in 2000-2001 were in Baltimore City.<sup>198</sup> From 1997 to 2005, 82 percent of the total amount of rehabilitation tax credits were spent in

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<sup>195</sup> Jamie Hopkins, “Permits to Fix Up City Homes Soar, *Baltmoresun.com*, 2 August 2005, <<http://www.baltmoresun.com/business/realestate/bal-bz.rehab02aug02,0,4238274.story?coll=bal-business-indepth>> (15 December 2006).

<sup>196</sup> Hopkins, “Seeing a Hopeful Change.”

<sup>197</sup> Hopkins, “Seeing a Hopeful Change.”

<sup>198</sup> Lipman, Frizzell, and Mitchell LLC, 10.

Baltimore City.<sup>199</sup> It should be noted that over half of all of the state's properties listed on the National Register of Historic Places are in Baltimore City, thus, while Baltimore's disproportionate use of the tax credit does represent recent reinvestment in the city, it is also a function of a higher number of properties eligible to take the credit.<sup>200</sup> Although 23 commercial projects and 43 single-family home projects utilized the credit from 1997 to 2005, a look at the money expended reveals a focus on large-scale commercial projects: the total amount of tax credits was \$29,509,724 for residential properties and \$186,933, 229 for commercial properties.<sup>201</sup>

Baltimore's recent income and population growth has partially been accredited to an influx of Washington, D.C. commuters. Indeed attracting this group to the city was a strategy of former Mayor Martin O'Malley in his efforts to repopulate Baltimore.<sup>202</sup> The discovery of Baltimore by homebuyers accustomed to DC-level prices has also partly contributed to the recent rise in the cost of living and home prices in Baltimore.<sup>203</sup> Rising land values, while a sure sign of progress in terms of tax dollars and resources for the city, also threaten to price out long time residents who are not earning DC-level salaries.

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<sup>199</sup> Ibid., 31

<sup>200</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid., 31

<sup>202</sup> United States Conference of Mayors, "Baltimore Mayor O'Malley's Project 5000," *USMayors.org*, 1 May 2006, available at

[http://www.usmayors.org/uscm/us\\_mayor\\_newspaper/documents/05\\_01\\_06/baltimore2.asp](http://www.usmayors.org/uscm/us_mayor_newspaper/documents/05_01_06/baltimore2.asp).

<sup>203</sup> Baltimore City Department of Planning, *Baltimore Smart Growth*, 12.

Indeed the area of the city that includes and surrounds Penn Station, the 21202 zip code, saw prices rise nearly 85 percent between 1999 and 2005.<sup>204</sup>

## Changes

In 1993, the RHIC was formed in an effort to present a unified voice and vision for Reservoir Hill. The RHIC is a successor organization to the Reservoir Hill Multipurpose Center Advisory Board, Inc., which was formed in 1983 as part of a Baltimore City initiative to establish Mayor's Stations in city neighborhoods, with the purpose of making the resources of city agencies accessible to citizens. Advisory Boards were formed to offer city officials input regarding the needs of the community and to evaluate services offered through the Mayor's Stations.<sup>205</sup> Funded mostly through federal Community Development Block Grants and private foundations, the RHIC functions as an umbrella group for the more than twenty different community associations and block clubs that the neighborhood supports.<sup>206</sup> Since 2002 the organization has supported a four-person staff. As described by the RHIC webpage, its mission is "to unite residents, organizations, and groups in order to provide a vehicle by which to define and solve problems common to the community of Reservoir Hill."<sup>207</sup> The degree to which it has been able to do this is limited as discussed above, by the lack of cohesion among residents and the structure of representation within the organization.

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<sup>204</sup> Hopkins, "Seeing a Hopeful Change."

<sup>205</sup> Reservoir Hill Improvement Council.

<sup>206</sup> Sara West, personal communication, 9 April 2007.

<sup>207</sup> Reservoir Hill Improvement Council.

In 1994, the State of Maryland, which had acquired three of the five mid-rise apartment buildings in the neighborhood, the Emersonian (Ill. 39), the Esplanade (Ill. 40) and Temple Gardens, packaged all three together in a request for proposals (“RFP”) . The originally large, elegant apartments had been subdivided into smaller apartments during the mid-century population boom, had become quite dilapidated with time and neglect. Roizman Development of Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania won the RFP, and together with the Baltimore Housing Partnership completed the rehabilitation project, called Renaissance Plaza, by 1996. In 1983 the three buildings had been nominated together as the Eutaw-Madison Apartment House National Register District, and as such were eligible for historic tax credits.<sup>208</sup> The entire cost of the project was \$20 million. As of 2000, 84 of the 301 apartments were at market-rate rents, the rest either subsidized or with income restrictions, and all three buildings had a 99 percent occupancy rate.<sup>209</sup>

In the mid-1990s the U.S. Housing and Urban Development Department (“HUD”) foreclosed on the Riviera, another of the neighborhood’s apartment buildings. The building, a six-story, 92,000 square foot building built in 1914, once contained 54 stately apartments, but had been reconfigured in the sixties and seventies into more than 80 subsidized apartments, and then had been left vacant. The Baltimore City Department of Housing and Community Development acquired the building from HUD and issued a

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<sup>208</sup> Charles Belfoure, “Old Baltimore Inner-City High Rise Gets a New Life,” *Newyorktimes.com*, 25 July, 2000, <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9D00E7DB1131F936A15755C0A9669C8B63&sec=&spo n=&pagewanted=print>.

<sup>209</sup> Ibid.



RFP for its rehabilitation and reuse. A proposal submitted by Pennrose Properties, a Philadelphia-based development company, was selected in 1998, and work on the building began. The project was funded with \$5 million in loans from HUD and Baltimore City, in addition to Pennrose's own equity and historic tax credits.<sup>210</sup> The building was returned to its original configuration of 54 units, of which five rent at unrestricted market rates and the remaining 49 are affordable.<sup>211</sup> After its success at the Riviera, Pennrose decided to tackle another mid-rise building just next door, the Chateau, rehabilitating it into 47 rental apartments, of which 14 rent at unrestricted market rates and the remaining 33 are affordable (Ill. 41).<sup>212</sup> Together, the Riviera and Chateau projects cost about \$8 million.

In 1996, the RHIC teamed up with Reservoir Hill H.O.P.E. in the drafting of a *Reservoir Hill Revitalization Plan*. The plan addressed issues such as housing, land use, education, and crime. Unfortunately, it was not well-executed and its provisions for change were not carried out. Some blame the neighborhood's reluctance to act as a single entity, the difficulty of forming one plan to be followed by so many different entities. Others blamed a lack of support from then-mayor Kurt Schmoke, who was criticized as ignoring neighborhood revitalization for other issues.<sup>213</sup> Despite the perceived failure of the 1996 revitalization plan to make real headway, in 2000, Reservoir Hill H.O.P.E. was awarded

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<sup>210</sup> Murphy, "Struggle to Renew."

<sup>211</sup> Kyle Speece, Pennrose Properties, <kspeece@pennrose.net> "master's thesis," 16 April 2006, personal email (16 April 2006).

<sup>212</sup> Ibid.

<sup>213</sup> Murphy, "Struggle to Renew."

Community Development Block Grant funding to develop a new plan. The result, *Reservoir Hill: Strengthening the Bonds of Community to Create Neighborhoods of Choice* was created together with the RHIC and others, and was an attempt to resolve “questions about changing a neighborhood’s image of itself and who, within the community, accepts responsibility for bringing about that change.”<sup>214</sup> The 2000 plan forecast through 2007, and thus is due for rethinking (although Reservoir Hill H.O.P.E. is now defunct and RHIC’s limited resources have prevented plans for an update so far). The document identified eleven “market areas” within Reservoir Hill, listing strengths and weaknesses unique to each, and laid out three guiding principles for change – that:

- Reservoir Hill consists of a variety of residents and neighborhoods with mutual concerns and interests who share a desire to acknowledge and celebrate diversity as the foundation for building a healthy community.
- Reservoir Hill is a collection of neighborhoods, all with their own strengths, challenges and opportunities. Each neighborhood can be thought of as representing a distinct housing market whose proper functioning depends on attracting the right mix of investments so that community improvements can be sustained over the long term and a proper balance of housing opportunities achieved to meet the needs of all residents.
- Reservoir Hill can only be strong when residents feel an affinity for and pride in their surroundings. Through regular and consistent community building activity neighborhood stability can be enhanced while giving new leaders the opportunity to emerge.

In the same year as the unveiling of the new plan, then-mayor Martin O’Malley announced an open invitation to Baltimore neighborhoods apply for six places in the new Healthy Neighborhoods Initiative (“HNI”). The program would give selected areas \$25,000 to \$50,000, plus access to \$300,000 in low-interest loans, for aesthetic

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<sup>214</sup> Reservoir Hill H.O.P.E., 7.

improvements for the purpose of making the neighborhoods more attractive to potential homebuyers. The invitation called for areas with a “strong community association,” good housing stock, few vacancies, and a clear plan for revitalization to apply.<sup>215</sup> While Reservoir Hill as a whole did not seem to fulfill the strong community association and low vacancy rate criteria, parts of it, such as those represented by the Historic Mount Royal Terrace Association and the Bolton-Park Neighbors Association, did. These groups joined together to apply, and were accepted as a neighborhood to the HNI program. In February of 2001, the group began to enact mostly beautification projects, such as the construction of median strips, in four blocks in the southeast corner of Reservoir Hill, comprising mostly large brick row homes (Ill.s 42- 45). In addition, small incentives were offered to residents – up to \$100 for every \$1000 spent on exterior aesthetic improvements to their homes – and the group identified buyers for two vacant homes in the HNI area.<sup>216</sup> Some considered the aesthetic improvements to be like “applying a Band-Aid to a gunshot wound,” given Reservoir Hill’s open-air drug market, estimated 95 percent poverty rate, trash problem, and lack of in-neighborhood resources such as a grocery store or pharmacy.<sup>217</sup> However, according to data compiled by the Baltimore Neighborhood Indicators Alliance – Jacob France Institute, indicators suggest that the HNI area experienced increased private investment and rising property values. Median sales prices in the four-block area increased 180 percent, rising from \$71,386 in

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<sup>215</sup> Murphy, “Struggle to Renew.”

<sup>216</sup> Ibid.

<sup>217</sup> Murphy, “City on a Hill.”

2001 to \$200,000 in 2006, rehabilitation investments of over \$5,000 increased from 1.76 percent in 2001 to 10.14 percent in 2006, and foreclosures decreased from 3.64 percent in 2001 to 0.44 percent in 2006.<sup>218</sup>

Encouraged by the positive changes in property market data in the HNI area, in late 2002, O'Malley announced a "Reservoir Hill Revitalization Initiative," hoping that Reservoir Hill could become a success story for his inner-city revitalization policies. The initiative included five main interrelated elements: acquiring vacant properties through a city-wide program known as Project 5000, a Homesteading Campaign, the Redevelopment of Housing Authority scattered site units, the offering of bundles of properties to developers through RFPs, and the redevelopment of key lakefront parcels and other vacant sites.<sup>219</sup>

Some of these efforts had already begun before the official declaration of the initiative. The Baltimore Department of Housing and Community Development pursued its homesteading efforts by sponsoring walking tours through the neighborhood, one in October 2002, offering six city-owned homes, and one in September 2003, offering 15 (of the hundreds of vacant properties in the neighborhood) to prospective homeowners for as little as \$5,400. The properties were acquired through Project 5000, a Baltimore-wide program that had been announced earlier in the year during O'Malley's January 2002 *State of the City Address*. His goal for the project was for the city to acquire 5,000 of the 14,000 vacant homes and 10,000 vacant lots across Baltimore in two years. The

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<sup>218</sup> HNI

<sup>219</sup> [http://www.baltimorehousing.org/index/ps\\_5000\\_reshill.asp](http://www.baltimorehousing.org/index/ps_5000_reshill.asp)

city targeted specific neighborhoods (sometimes blocks) that had the potential of tipping into vibrancy. The program called for aggressively pursuing tax sale foreclosures, quick-takes, and traditional acquisitions; transferring surplus vacant properties owned by the Housing Authority of Baltimore City; and clearing titles with the help of law firms, title companies and related businesses to help.<sup>220</sup>

After acquisition, the city has employed various methods for property disposition. One program that has been used in conjunction with Project 5000 in Reservoir Hill, Selling City Owned Property Efficiently (“SCOPE”), is a public-private partnership with the Greater Baltimore Board of Realtors, which allows realtors to list and market the Project 5000 properties. SCOPE began in 2002, about the same time as Project 5000, and although the two programs work together, they are independent – not every building that the city takes under Project 5000 is sold through SCOPE, and only about half of the 107 SCOPE houses sold in Baltimore as of March 2006 were part of Project 5000.<sup>221</sup> SCOPE started as an initiative of the Greater Baltimore Board of Realtors, working together with the Goldseker Foundation and the Baltimore Efficiency and Economy Foundation, a local nonprofit think tank. The group, acting on the improving Baltimore real estate market, designed a program to help the city sell at market prices, rather than give away its properties. Listings include both a sale price and an estimate of the cost of rehabilitation,

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<sup>220</sup> Conference of Mayors, “O’Malley’s Project 5000.”

<sup>221</sup> Edward Ericson, Jr., “End of their SCOPE: The Success and Failure of Owner-Occupant Neighborhood Renewal On One City Block,” *Citypaper.com*, 15 March 2006, <<http://www.citypaper.com/news/story.asp?id=11587>> (8 March 2007).

and buyers are required to finish all rehabilitation work within a year and a half of the sale.

Other methods besides SCOPE of disposing of properties acquired by Project 5000 are through rolling bids (for “unsolicited” offers) and RFPs.<sup>222</sup> In Project 5000’s first four years, 6,000 abandoned properties across the city were acquired, 1,000 of which were returned to private ownership, and 2,000 of which were programmed for a specific development outcome. The sales revenues for the city between 2003 and May 2006 totaled \$4.5 million, and taxes and fees collected during that time totaled \$1.8 million.<sup>223</sup> Through Project 5000 and SCOPE, the city seems to be trying to avoid policies that it had in place in the past, in which city-owned houses were sold to the highest bidder (often for very little), sometimes selling properties to one land-banking speculator after another, resulting in the boarded-up, abandoned homes that contributed to the area’s problems.<sup>224</sup> According to Housing Department spokesman David Tillman, the city’s newfound selectivity in buyers for their properties is, “exactly the kind of attitude investors aren’t used to in Baltimore . . . Baltimore has choices now.”<sup>225</sup>

Seven months after the second city-led Reservoir Hill tour, in March of 2004, the city issued another RFP, soliciting development proposals for twenty-three vacant properties

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<sup>222</sup> Conference of Mayors, “O’Malley’s Project 5000.”

<sup>223</sup> Ibid.

<sup>224</sup> Ericson, “End of their SCOPE”

<sup>225</sup> Ibid.

on Linden and Callow Avenues.<sup>226</sup> Because the properties were being offered as part of Project 5000 and SCOPE, in order to be approved, potential buyers had to prove that they could afford both the purchase price and the large (often more than \$200,000) estimated cost of rehabilitation and had to agree to comply with the eighteen month rehabilitation time limit.<sup>227</sup> An additional Reservoir Hill-specific limitation was added, requiring that the properties be owner-occupied, although contractors were allowed to bid on the properties as long as they agreed to rehabilitate and sell to an owner-occupant within the 18-month period.<sup>228</sup>

While most of the eight responses to the RFP were from developers, the winning proposal came from a group of eight prospective homeowners who grouped together to form an LLC they called Linden Tree and who partnered with French Development Company, which had previously worked with Reservoir Hill H.O.P.E. The LLC purchased and has begun stabilization of the homes, which, as of March 2007, was 85 percent complete.<sup>229</sup> Once buildings are structurally sound, each of the eight members will purchase one of the units from the LLC and rehabilitated it on his own.<sup>230</sup> The creation of Linden Tree was precipitated largely by one motivated and technically-savvy

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<sup>226</sup> Anna Ditkoff, "Take That Hill: A Group of Would-Be Homeowners Challenge Developers for the Right to Buy and Rehab Houses in Reservoir Hill," *City Paper Online*, 30 June 2004, <<http://www.citypaper.com/news/story.asp?id=8188>> (6 March 2007).

<sup>227</sup> Ditkoff, "On the Block."

<sup>228</sup> Ditkoff, "On the Block."

<sup>229</sup> Reservoir Hill Improvement Council, "Development Projects – Status Update," *Housing News and Notes*, March 2007, <<http://www.reservoirhill.net/publications/RHICpubs.html>> (15 April 2007).

<sup>230</sup> Ditkoff, "Take That Hill."

Baltimorean, Adam Meister, who had returned to the city in 2001 at the age of 28.

Meister's website, Techbalt.com, was intended to be a Baltimore adaptation of Craigslist, providing an online location for local announcements, but also included discussions of city problems and possible resolutions. The site evolved into a grassroots forum for discussing and inciting community development, as Meister began developing his ideas about homesteading in Reservoir Hill. In his (candid) words:

I am 27 years old and I think it would be pretty cool to own an old house in the middle of Baltimore. . . . In recent months I have discovered two blocks of row houses in two not so nice areas bordering kind of up and coming neighborhoods . . . Many of the homes appear to be empty and boarded up. A few are owned by the HABC [Housing Authority of Baltimore City]. Upon further research I saw that one recently sold for \$7000. I drove through the blocks and it was a sad site. I wished I could buy a house on one of these blocks and move in. Then I realized that I could not do it alone. I would be eaten alive. If 15 to 30 other people just like me, people who were willing to take chances and work hard, bought some of these cheap homes at the same time then we could change the areas right away. The fact that somebody with the same goals in mind as you is right next door will provide an immediate sense of security. Once people heard of these pioneers who resurrected these dead blocks then others would move in and fix up properties.<sup>231</sup>

Meister's ideas, mostly disseminated through Techbalt.com, are aimed primarily at a group of people he terms "Rybbys" -- Risk-taking Young Baltimoreans. The campaign to make Reservoir Hill a place where "Rybbys" can buy their own home and feel insulated from the crime and perceived hostility in the neighborhood evolved into a "buy-a-block" campaign and then the response to the city RFP in late 2003. Complete

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<sup>231</sup> techbalt.com



rehabilitation of eight single family homes on Linden Avenue began in the fall of 2006 and is slated for completion by Spring 2007.<sup>232</sup>

In 2004, Pennrose Properties took on another project in Reservoir Hill, this time a joint venture with the Housing Authority of Baltimore City, the RHIC, and Reservoir Hill H.O.P.E. The project, known as Renaissance at Reservoir Hill, is the rehabilitation of 76 scattered rowhouse units throughout the neighborhood for affordable housing, 64 of which are to be rental units and 12 of which are for homeownership. The project was funded with \$3,260,000 in Partnership Rental Housing Funds from the State of Maryland, a \$3,764,140 loan from the Housing Authority of Baltimore City, \$2,028,000 state historic tax credit proceeds, and \$3,985,000 Low Income Tax Credit Proceeds.<sup>233</sup> Progress on the units is still underway.

In January of 2004, O'Malley renewed his commitment to utilize Project 5000 in Reservoir Hill, pledging that by August of that year, 255 of the neighborhoods 300 then-vacant buildings would be held by the City in preparation for development or rehabilitation (Ill. 46), and in October of 2004, the city filed a foreclosure proceeding for its 5,000th property acquisition in Baltimore.<sup>234</sup>

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<sup>232</sup> Reservoir Hill Improvement Council.

<sup>233</sup> Kyle Speece, Pennrose Properties, <kspeece@pennrose.net> "master's thesis," 12 April 2006, personal email (12 April 2006).

<sup>234</sup> Rox and Treuhaft, 103.

Despite the city's efforts to promote homesteading, investors from out of town still effect a lot of the changes in the neighborhood. In 2004, one Reservoir Hill investor, Joshua Siegel, initiated a campaign for the nomination and designation of the Reservoir Hill National Historic District. Siegel orchestrated the RHIC 's application for federal historic district designation that would cover the already-existing local districts, and also the central part of the neighborhood that was not part of a district at the time.<sup>235</sup> Reflecting the fragmented character of the neighborhood, three local districts already existed at the time: the Mount Royal Terrace local historic district was created by an ordinance in 1976 (Ill. 47), the Eutaw Place / Madison Avenue (Ill.s 48-50) local district was created in 1981, and the Eutaw-Madison Apartment House national historic district was created in 1983.

Properties in Baltimore that are located in national and local historic districts (as well as properties that are individually listed as Baltimore City Landmarks or as National Register properties) may claim the federal property tax credit, the Maryland Heritage Structure Rehabilitation Tax Credit, or (sometimes, and) the Property Tax Credit for Historic Restorations and Rehabilitations from the city. The program offers a ten-year credit on the increased tax assessment directly resulting from qualifying

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<sup>235</sup> Edward Ericson, Jr., "Mr. Fix-It Joshua Siegel is Rehabbing Decrepit Reservoir Hill Housing. That's a Good Thing, Right?," *Citypaper.com*, 25 June 2000, <<http://www.citypaper.com/news/story.asp?id=8698>> (8 February 2007).

improvements.<sup>236</sup> The credit was passed in 1996, and has been called the most "comprehensive in the country" by Baltimore's Commission for Historical and Architectural Preservation ("CHAP"). As a result of the extraordinary savings when the city, state, and federal rehabilitation tax incentives are combined, Baltimore neighborhoods in the past few years have sought federal historic district status (which qualifies an area for all three tax credits) at an unprecedented rate.<sup>237</sup> By August 2004, about 40,000 Baltimore structures carried a historic designation, compared with about 8,000 in Boston. According to Bill Pencek, director of the Baltimore City Heritage Area, "[w]e have the highest number of listed buildings of any city in the country--by far, by far."<sup>238</sup>

The expanded Reservoir Hill Historic District was listed on the National Register of Historic Places on December 23, 2004. Applying for national designation in Reservoir Hill was a strategy that would allow property owners in the new district to utilize tax credits if they wished, but would not impose any additional burden of maintenance or upkeep. Siegel explains his rationale behind pursuing designation: "we like doing things historically because it provides tremendous value."<sup>239</sup> Ironically, an August 2004 City

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<sup>236</sup> The credit for projects with construction costs less than \$3.5 million is 100 percent, and for projects with construction costs more than \$3.5 million the credit is 80 percent in the first five taxable years and declines by ten percentage points thereafter. For more information, see Commission for Historical and Architectural Preservation, <http://www.ci.baltimore.md.us/government/historic/taxcredit.html>

<sup>237</sup> During one August 2004 CHAP meeting, eight neighborhoods were given preliminary approval for historic designations, designations that would include over 10,000 buildings. Ericson, "Mr. Fix-It."

<sup>238</sup> Ibid.

<sup>239</sup> Ibid.

Paper article, Siegel owned eight other homes in the neighborhood at the time that had been boarded up for years, and the city was commencing acquisition of seven of his properties in the 2400 block of Callow and on the 2400 block of Lakeview.

The new designation has attracted many investors to Reservoir Hill. In an August 2005 article, David Zichos, a principal of Baltimore Rehab Services LLC, reported that about 85 percent of his business was at that time in Reservoir Hill. He noted that many of the buyers were Washingtonians, and that the average cost to fully rehabilitate a Reservoir Hill home was \$200,000, in addition to the purchase price.<sup>240</sup> Renewed interest in the neighborhood has had a predictable effect on prices. From 1996 to 2001, the average sale price of a home in Reservoir Hill increased by 159%, from \$32,132 to \$83,100 (Ill. 51),<sup>241</sup> and from 2003 to 2005, average sale prices went up by 71 percent, from \$116,389 to \$199,013.<sup>242</sup> As a comparison, average sale prices for homes between 2003 and 2005 went up by 40 percent in the entire Baltimore metro region and by 50 percent in Baltimore City.<sup>243</sup>

Momentum seems to have picked up for Reservoir Hill, which still seems to be a pet project of now Governor O'Malley: on April 29, 2005 Maryland Lieutenant Governor Michael Steele announced the award of \$215,000 to Jubilee Baltimore from Community

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<sup>240</sup> Hopkins, "Permits to Fix Up City Homes Soar."

<sup>241</sup> Reservoir Hill H.O.P.E., 32.

<sup>242</sup> Live Baltimore. *Average Home Sales 2003-2005, Percent Change by Neighborhood*, available at <http://www.livebaltimore.com/nb/hs/>.

<sup>243</sup> Ibid.

Legacy funds for the Upper Eutaw Madison Historic District and Lakeside Neighbors areas. The award was used for the purchase of vacant houses which had been left out of Project 5000, and to facilitate housing rehabilitations with low interest loans.<sup>244</sup> Jubilee stabilized the properties and held them for purchasers, who then rehabilitated and moved in. Funds were also be used to provide up to 25 percent of a rehabilitation loans for an existing homeowner. Owners are required to live in properties receiving funds from Jubilee for ten years, and if they move before ten years, they must repay a pro rata calculation of the outstanding balance to the State.<sup>245</sup>

## Conclusions

Physically, Reservoir Hill presents ideal neighborhood in which Smart Growth's resource reallocation and inner-city revitalization policies could achieve success. Its central location makes it accessible to many different modes of public transportation. Its architecture of various sizes and styles offers the possibility of providing both a mix of housing types (including affordable) and the possibility for mixed uses, such as retail and restaurants. Its proximity to Druid Hill Park offers access to open space in the middle of the city. The neighborhood's fine architecture is being rehabilitated (largely through homesteading efforts or as affordable housing) with the help of historic and other tax credits, making the many grand homes livable for the first time in years. To be sure,

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<sup>244</sup> A Baltimore-based bank, Bradford Bank offered a three-to-one match of these funds, which were used to pay up to 25 percent of the purchase price of a vacant house.

<sup>245</sup> Jubilee Baltimore, *Jubilee Baltimore*, February 2006, <[http://www.jubileebaltimore.org/pages/about\\_stories.cfm](http://www.jubileebaltimore.org/pages/about_stories.cfm)> (10 February 2007).

rehabilitated homes, fewer vacancies, and more people on the streets are preferable to blocks of abandoned homes and dwindling numbers of residents, however, Reservoir Hill is not just a collection of building shells waiting for an opportunity to become a part of a new Smart Growth-driven metropolitan order. The neighborhood's residents continue to be divided along class and racial lines with the high poverty, mostly renter, African-American population left out of the decision-making process. Despite the important emphasis on affordable housing of many rehabilitation projects, it appears likely that the Smart Growth-related programs at work in Reservoir Hill are a boon to historic structures, but continue to marginalize current residents.

Compared to previous government-led efforts, which emphasized large subsidies for low and moderate income housing development, the multi-tiered strategies utilized in the neighborhood are more nuanced and sensitive to the need for owner occupants rather than investors. Project 5000, a Baltimore program based on Smart Growth principles, seemed to be a step in the right direction for the neighborhood. An emphasis on homesteading, combined with SCOPE's market-based disposition system has attracted a group of new homeowners to the area, and despite criticisms that the city has been selling to contractors rather than homeowners, the emphasis on rapid rehabilitation has brought new life to many previously unlivable structures. The rehabilitation of a considerable number of housing units for affordable housing is another positive result of government policies at work in Reservoir Hill: it seems clear that projects such as Renaissance Plaza, Renaissance at Reservoir Hill, and the Riviera, all developer-initiated, all spurred by

RFPs from the city, would not have occurred without the incentives offered by city and state Smart Growth-related policies. State-provided funding, Partnership Rental Housing, and Low Income Tax Credits, all incentives tied to Smart-Growth, have also played a critical role in physical renewal, funding aesthetic improvements, rehabilitations, and acquisition costs.

There are other forces besides land use policy and financial incentives that are working in Reservoir Hill, such as the ripple effect of changing housing markets nearby. According to residents and real estate agents, interest in Reservoir Hill has increased partly because many potential buyers were priced out of nearby Bolton Hill, a neighborhood south of North Avenue.<sup>246</sup> New buyers are also coming from a bit farther: although Sara West estimates that Washington commuters are still only a “small contingent” of Reservoir Hill newcomers,<sup>247</sup> according to Dawn Ponsi-Miles, a real estate broker, “Washingtonians are attracted to Reservoir Hill because its wide range of architectural styles give it an appearance that is very different from traditional Baltimore row house neighborhoods.”<sup>248</sup>

Whether from city, state, or market forces (and most likely a combination of all three), large-scale efforts to breathe new life into Reservoir Hill seem come from every direction but within. The neighborhood’s once-neglected homes are only one manifestation of

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<sup>246</sup> Pietiela, “Changes Pervade.”

<sup>247</sup> Sara West, personal communication, 9 April 2007.

<sup>248</sup> Pietiela, “Changes Pervade.”

much deeper problems: class and racial divisions stemming from decades of poverty, underinvestment, and misguided urban renewal attempts. According to Reservoir Hill H.O.P.E.:

[u]rban renewal did little to promote diverse residential communities, build a sense of neighborhood identity or strengthen links between physical and social change. In many regards, urban renewal worked directly against those goals. Much has been learned since that earlier period and public sector thinking about how best to intervene and partner in neighborhood revitalization is slowly evolving toward a new model that considers market forces and relinquishes a certain amount of control to community-based organizations.<sup>249</sup>

The challenge in Reservoir Hill is obtaining the participation of such community-based organizations. The RHIC, the only neighborhood-wide organization, does not have a renter representative on its board (while over three quarters of residents were renters in 2000), and new residents and longer term residents have divergent needs and visions. Fewer new residents have school-age children, and therefore most have little interest in local schools; newer homeowners (for the most part) generally have more money than longer term residents, and are often owners rather than renters, making rising property values desirable, rather than a cause of rising rent. New residents are actors in the market, choosing Reservoir Hill because of the incentives that they were offered that made living there attractive. Many long-term residents have not been similarly empowered, remaining in Reservoir Hill through waves of urban renewal, urban pioneering, vacancy, and now potential gentrification. While some groups in the neighborhood have had some success, for example, the Mount Royal Terrace and Bolton

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<sup>249</sup> Reservoir Hill H.O.P.E., 4.



Park Neighbors jurisdictions' HNI designation, the residents in the neighborhood have no collective identity. Reservoir Hill H.O.P.E.'s 2000 revitalization plan for Reservoir Hill, *Strengthening the Bonds of Community to Create Neighborhoods of Choice*, tried to encourage residents to move beyond the concept of community as mere territory and develop more social interaction: the bottom rung of the "Neighbor Leadership Ladder," "Neighborliness" suggests that actions such as greeting neighbors, watching out for one another, and keeping spare sets of one another's keys are the first steps to evolving into developing community leadership.<sup>250</sup> However, great strides at community-building have not been made. Although religious institutions such as the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church (although located across North Avenue in Bolton Hill), which began Reservoir Hill H.O.P.E., the Beth Am Synagogue, which has historically been socially involved in the neighborhood despite drawing nearly all of its members from outside the community, and the Saint Francis Neighborhood Center, which has been in the neighborhood since the 1960s and serves as a de facto social services center, have made some progress in creating a more cohesive Reservoir Hill community, significant divisions remain. Plans for changing Reservoir Hill will continue to act as forces acting on the residents, rather than measures carried out together with them, as long as residents remain divided and renters have no voice.

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<sup>250</sup> Reservoir Hill H.O.P.E., 17. Baum provides three different meanings of the word "community": simply a territory, social interaction such as neighborliness or civility among people who happen to live near one another, and strong ties that influence decisions about where or with whom to live (such as being part of the same racial group). Baum, 16.

Reservoir Hill's historic fabric has benefited from state Smart Growth programs and from city Smart Growth-related programs. However, the incomplete resident involvement and the competing interests within have been a major obstacle to creating lasting positive changes for the many people that live within the historic structures. The inadequacy of the change in Reservoir Hill reveals a serious deficiency in Smart Growth's policies in addressing the problem of poor, inner-city neighborhoods: although homesteading programs and affordable housing incentives will help meet goals of owner occupancy and quotas for affordable living space, two very important elements of positive change, place-based programs channeling capital into historic neighborhoods can only go so far without linking to more people-based social programs.

## **FINAL CONCLUSIONS**

A direct comparison between Reservoir Hill, an inner-city Baltimore neighborhood, and Hyattsville, an inner-ring suburb of Washington, D.C., is impossible. Although both are within the same greater-Baltimore-Washington region, Hyattsville draws mostly from the larger and wealthier Washington metropolitan area, while Reservoir Hill is within the economically weaker Baltimore City. In addition, Reservoir Hill, as a neighborhood within Baltimore, has less resources to apply to local initiatives than an incorporated municipality like Hyattsville. Hyattsville's residents do not face the same level of poverty that Reservoir Hill's do: the 1999 median household income in Hyattsville was \$45,355, while Reservoir Hill's was less than half of that, at \$22,345. The citizen involvement and sense of community that has guided new development in Hyattsville has not developed in Reservoir Hill despite attempts by religious and other organizations. Hyattsville's population is diverse, with large numbers of immigrants and a high homeownership rate, while Reservoir Hill houses a mostly black population of renters. Hyattsville, a much larger city, is not-yet fully built-out, and offers both possibilities for greenfield development and historic rehabilitation, while Reservoir Hill, a neighborhood surrounded on all sides, offers only rehabilitation and infill potential.

Yet, observing the results (actual and expected) of deliberate state and local policy measures that identified both of these places as urban areas that could play a role in Smart Growth-related change, some hypotheses about the promise of Smart Growth in historic areas across the state can be made. The necessity for strong local leadership that

represents the majority of residents is apparent. A comparison of the two case studies makes clear that the degree of community participation that will be accommodated in any one Smart Growth project will depend on the nature of the community (or lack thereof) and the local leadership that exists. In Hyattsville, strong local leadership and a stable and well-developed community network has made the integration of transit-oriented development, historic preservation, community participation, affordable housing, and other Smart Growth-promoted features possible, but in Reservoir Hill, disunity and mistrust among residents has prevented revitalization from addressing the needs of long-term residents. In addition, a look at Smart Growth's policies as applied to the residents of Reservoir Hill underscores their weaknesses when faced with the problems of long-term poverty, entrenched racial and class divisions, and perceived powerlessness.

Studying Smart Growth specifically in the context of historic areas also raises certain conflicts when the significant role that marketing plays in the Smart Growth program is considered. In Hyattsville, a historic city with a story that is not so different from many other inner-ring, working class suburbs across the country, it is easier to craft a marketable image ("A World Within Walking Distance," a "Priority Place") that reflects the city's current identity while respecting its history. Memorializing Hyattsville's participation in the proliferation of automobiles, celebrating its working class roots, making room for a new identification with artists and immigrants, can all be reconciled with one another. Therefore, Smart Growth's commodification of the space as a "neighborhood of choice" seems to work. When the Lustine Showroom, an icon of

Hyattsville's recent past, was to be destroyed, the citizens themselves fought to preserve it and incorporate it into the quintessentially-Smart Growth EYA development.

Reservoir Hill's recent history cannot be so easily packaged: for example, the 900 block of Whitelock Street, burned and looted during the 1968 riots, sits vacant as the product of events both specific to Reservoir Hill and part of a nationwide movement. With no offer of assistance by the city, the (mostly Jewish) proprietors left, and no one in the community in subsequent years (besides drug dealers) took ownership of the space or acknowledged what meaning the remaining buildings held. Twenty five years later, the city, in destroying the block and failing to rebuild, reminded residents just how valueless it deemed the space to be. Today, the painful legacy of the site is ignored all together, the "community garden" in the empty lots a mess of weeds. Unlike the marketing of Hyattsville's history, embraced by a community of residents and for which slogans and brochures seem sincere, in Reservoir Hill, attempts to package the neighborhood's history and sell it with Smart Growth's incentives reveal that the story of racial tension, clashing of classes, and disenfranchisement is still being played out in the neighborhood.

Smart Growth's linkage of open space conservation with increased investment in existing areas opened up a new opportunity for historic preservation in Maryland. The state level policy declaration that rural areas are to be highly valued and protected in turn raised the metaphoric (and, in most cases, monetary) value of existing historic areas like Reservoir Hill and Hyattsville, spurring new inflows of people and money. Smart Growth incentives can be critical tools in the rebuilding of urban areas across the state, and can

help to organize and fund rehabilitation and preservation that might likely not have happened if development trends continued pushing outward. However, Smart Growth only goes so far, and its potential to renew without displacing and rehabilitate without homogenizing is limited by the incorporation of its incentives by local leadership into community identity.

## ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustration 1: Map of Priority Funding Areas in Maryland

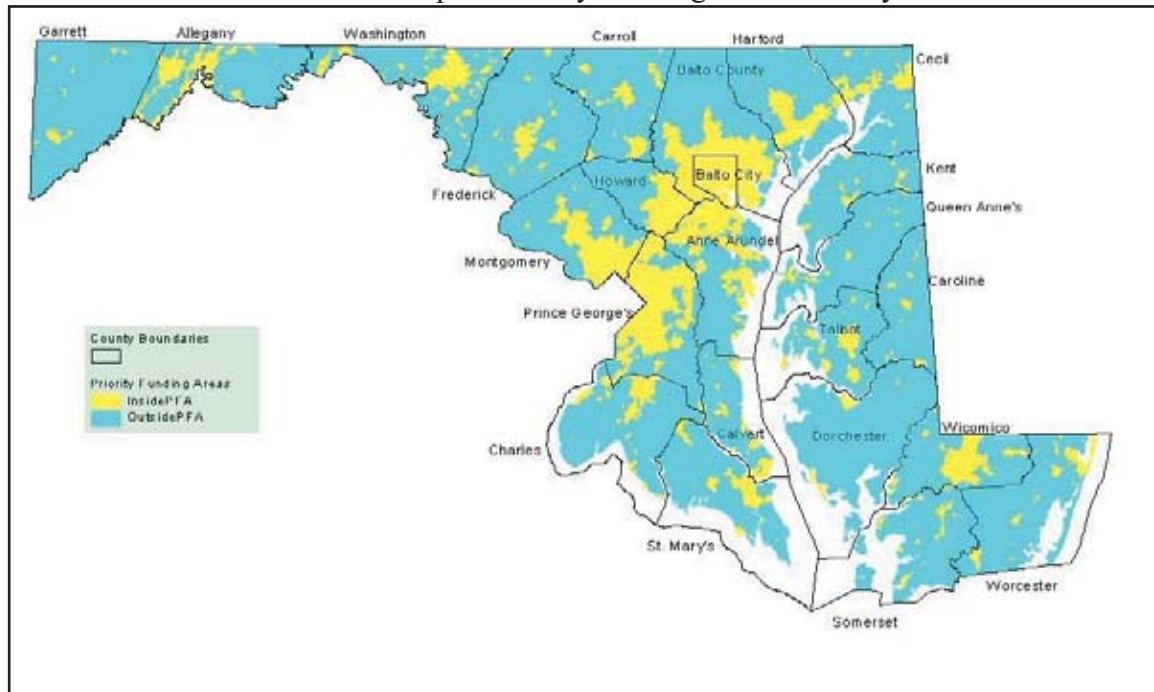


Illustration 2: Hyattsville context map

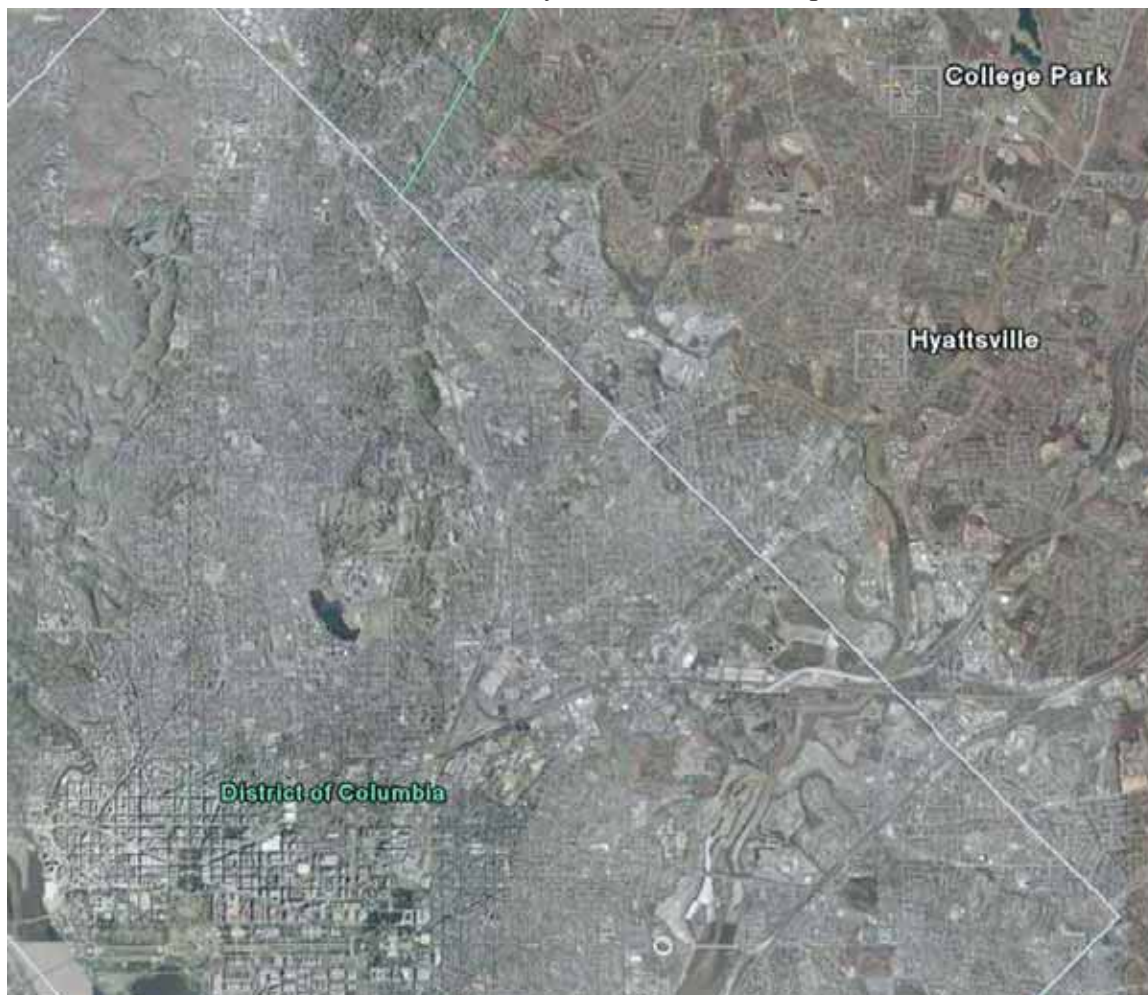




Illustration 3: Hyattsville map



Illustration 4: Hyattsville Historic District signage



Illustration 5: Holden-Sweeting House, 4112 Gallatin Street, constructed 1897



Illustration 6: Charles H. Welsh House, 4200 Farragut Street, constructed 1889-90





Illustration 7: Harriet Ralston House, 4206 Decatur Street, constructed circa 1885



Illustration 8: McEwan House, 4106 Gallatin Street, constructed 1887





Illustration 9: Masonic Lodge, constructed 1893



Illustration 10: Professional Building, constructed 1904



Illustration 11: Hyattsville Armory, constructed 1918



Illustration 12: Church of God and Saints of Christ Church, formerly Hyattsville Presbyterian Church, 4203 Farragut Street, constructed 1915





Illustration 13: Bungalow style homes



Illustration 14: Housing units in Hyattsville by year built

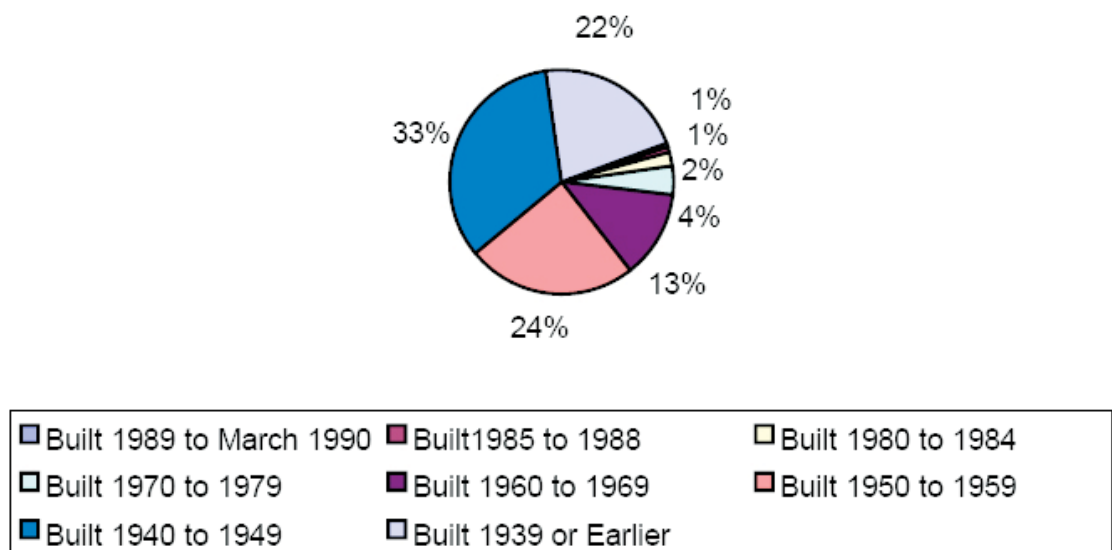


Illustration 15: 6505 Belcrest Road, “Metro One”



Illustration 16: Route One sign, from residential core





Illustration 17: Buildings along Route One, rehabilitated as commercial space



Illustration 18: Hyattsville Hardware



Illustration 19: Hyattsville Hardware, interior



Illustration 20: Old Municipal Building, during demolition





Illustration 21: Arts District Hyattsville site plan



Illustration 22: Lustine Showroom



Illustration 23: Lustine Showroom, circa 1955



Illustration 24: Lustine Collision Center, during demolition





Illustration 25: New Hyattsville logo



City Of Hyattsville Logo Design  
© WOODEN DESIGN, 2006

Illustration 26: Reservoir Hill context map

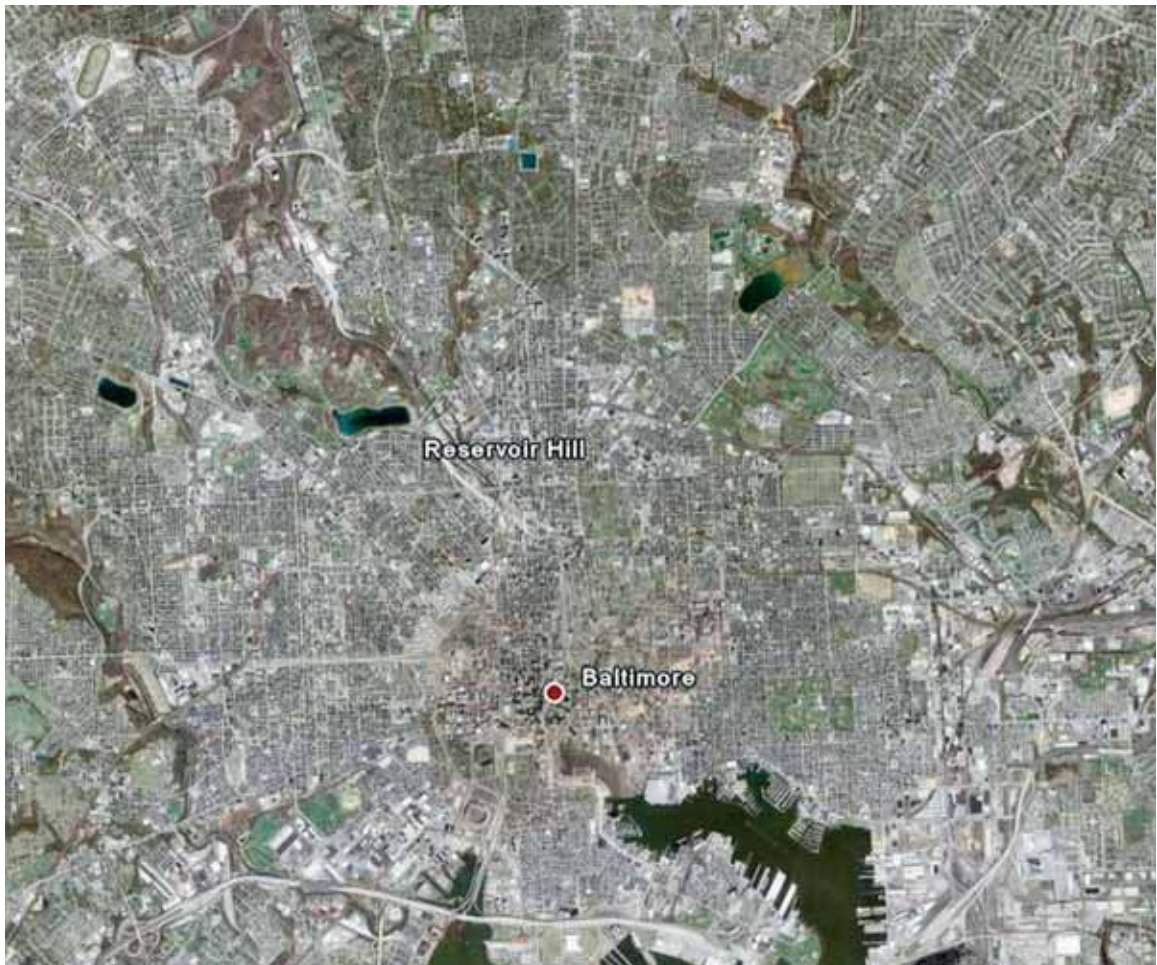


Image 27: Reservoir Hill map





Illustration 28: Postcard of Mount Royal Mansion (Bond House)



Illustration 29: Postcard of entrance to Druid Hill Park





Illustration 30: Entrance to Druid Hill Park



Illustration 31: Postcard of schoolchildren walking along Druid Hill Lake



Illustration 32: 2400 block of Eutaw Place





Illustration 33: Vacant lot in 900 block of Whitelock Street



Illustration 34: Lot in 900 block of Whitelock Street



Illustration 35: Vacant home next to occupied home on 800 block of Whitelock Street





Illustration 36: Abandoned home, 2500 block Eutaw Street  
Interested buyers with no means of identifying or contacting owners express interest in properties by putting up signs on the door.



Illustration 37: One of the many piles of trash on a street



Illustration 38: Housing sales in Reservoir Hill by street (1996-2001)

Street	Units Sold 1996-2001	Median Sales Price (inflation adjusted)
Cloverdale Street	1	\$111,000
Mount Royal Terrace	26	\$103,325
Bolton Street	5	\$97,180
Eutaw Place	25	\$78,000
Park Avenue	30	\$73,169
Clendenin Street	2	\$64,003
Madison Avenue	56	\$63,285
Whitelock Street	8	\$60,360
Reservoir Street	20	\$54,825
Lennox Street	10	\$53,938
Brooks Lane	17	\$38,150
McCulloh Street	38	\$38,000
Linden Avenue	24	\$33,281
Chauncey Avenue	8	\$30,999
Brookfield Avenue	25	\$27,750
Druid Park Lake Drive	3	\$26,160
Newington Avenue	22	\$22,110
Callow Avenue	12	\$15,675
Lakeview Avenue	18	\$14,170

Illustration 39: The Emersonian





Illustration 40: The Esplanade



Illustration 41: Signage at the Chateau



Illustration 42: Home on Reservoir Street





Illustration 43: 2000 block of Mount Royal Terrace



Illustration 44: 1900 block of Mount Royal Terrace



Illustration 45: Mount Royal Terrace, facing north from North Avenue





Illustration 46: Extensive rehabilitations on 2200 block of Callow Street



Illustration 47: 2000 block of Park Avenue, near entrance to Mansion House, within Mount Royal Historic District





Illustration 48: 2200 block of Madison Avenue, within Eutaw/Madison Historic District



Illustration 49: 2200 block of Madison Avenue, within Eutaw/Madison Historic District



Illustration 50: 2200 block of Eutaw Place, within Eutaw/Madison Historic District



Illustration 51: Housing sales in Reservoir Hill (1996-2001)

Year	Units Sold	Average Sales Price	Average Sales Price (adjusted for inflation)	Percent Change
1996	63	\$32,132	\$36,309	----
1997	75	\$41,997	\$46,617	28%
1998	66	\$51,058	\$55,653	19%
1999	55	\$58,815	\$62,933	13%
2000	39	\$62,636	\$64,515	3%
2001	52	\$83,100	\$83,100	29%

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